



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



Priority handled for presentation
only

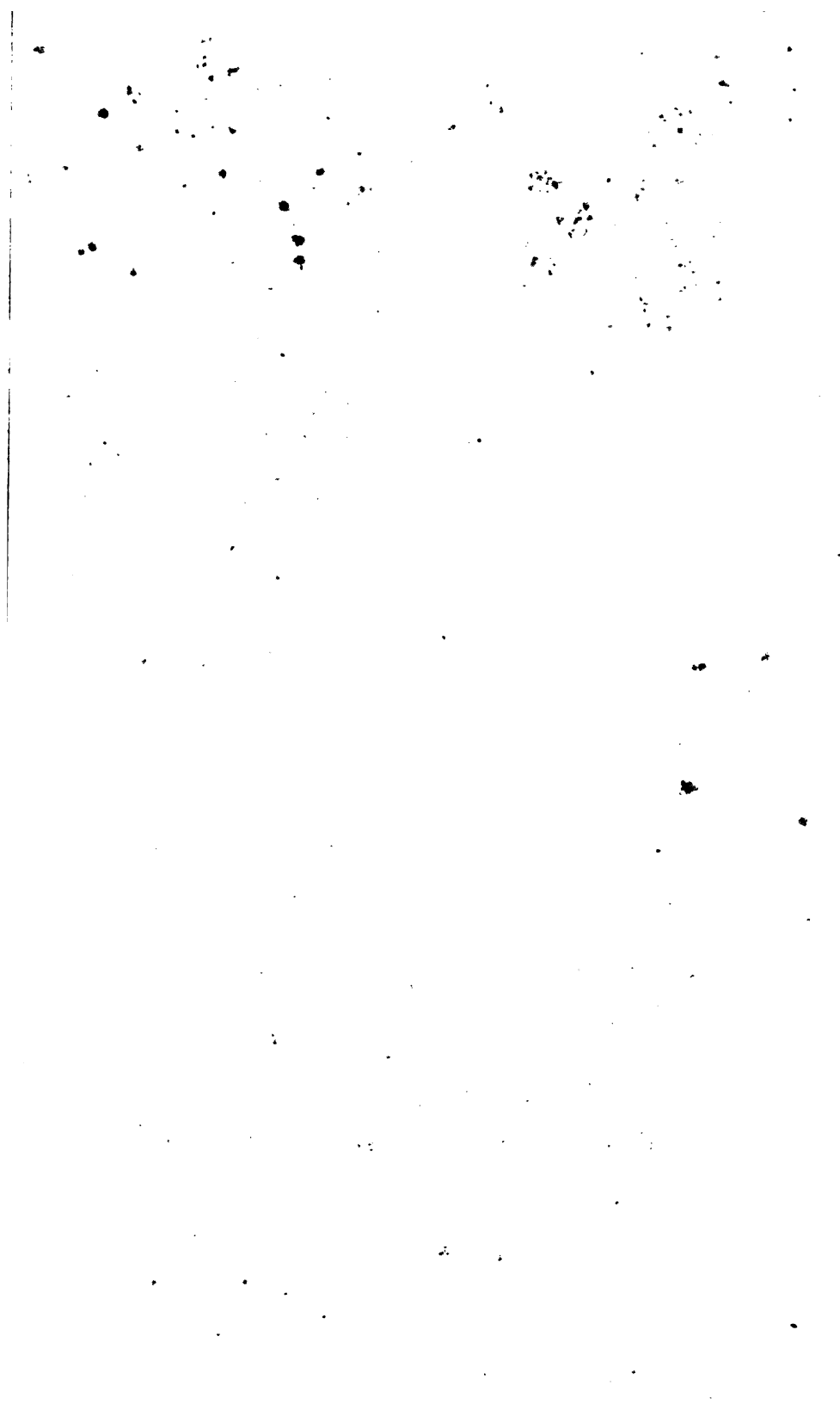




G6455 112⁵⁰

B106.

Rare.



G6455 12⁵⁰

Biob.
Rare.



[V. H. ...]

G6455 112⁵⁰

B106.

Rail.





BARBARA DUCHESS OF CLEVELAND.

*From the original Miniature by Samuel Cooper, in the possession of
The Right Hon. the Countess of Caledon.*

*The Rev. F. C. Polhill, M.A.
with the authors best regards
17th Nov. 1871.*

A MEMOIR
OF
BARBARA,
DUCHESS OF CLEVELAND,

BY

G. STEINMAN STEINMAN, ESQ., F.S.A.

AUTHOR OF "SOME PARTICULARS CONTRIBUTED TOWARDS A MEMOIR OF
MRS. MYDDELTON," AND "ALTHORP MEMOIRS."

Printed for Private Circulation.

1871.

DA447
C63S8



TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE EARL STANHOPE,
PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON,
D.C.L., F.R.S., &c.

THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED,
WITH THE STRONGEST FEELINGS OF
RESPECT AND REGARD.

PREFACE.

THE following memoir of Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland, was undertaken at the request of Earl Stanhope. The compliment conveyed in the request by a nobleman so eminent in the world of letters could not but be appreciated by the Author. When he resumed his pen he had made no collections for the lady's biography, otherwise a notice of her Grace would have swelled his "Althorp Memoirs." For the reason that his health has continued without improvement, he has been unable to avail himself of a general search in the great library of the nation ; and even of one in that other large private literary depository, more within his reach, at Chevening Place, and most kindly submitted to his use. A pleasing labour has been denied him which, there is much reason to believe, would have brought out some further new particulars to illustrate an eventful career. He has, however, been as

ably as kindly assisted by gentlemen of literary taste who are called by duty or pleasure almost daily into London, and most gratefully he here returns his warmest thanks to Henry Morgan Vane, Esq.; George Edward Adams, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Lancaster Herald; Colonel Joseph Lemuel Chester; Alfred Kingston, Esq.; George William Reid, Esq.; Edward Maunde Thompson, Esq., and John Edmund Gardner, Esq., F.R.S., for all the trouble—and great it has been—they have taken on his behalf.

The Bodleian Library he has been enabled to reach through the Rev. Joseph Skipper Treacher, M.A., whose aid has been of great service to him.

From Earl Stanhope and Peter Anthony Labouchere, Esq., he has received very interesting communications; and in his attempt to form a list of and to describe the portraits of the Duchess and her children, he is gratified by feeling himself under obligations to the Duke of Cleveland, the Marquess of Ailesbury, K.G., the Earls of Essex and Craven, Earl Bathurst, the Countess Dowager of Craven, the Hon. Mrs. Constantine Dillon, the Hon. and Rev.

Augustus Frederick Phipps, M.A., the Hon. George Mathew Fortescue, Sir Alfred Frederick Adolphus Slade, Bart., Sir Charles James Palmer, Bart.,—who in other ways has also contributed to the Duchess's memoir,—Chandos Wren-Hoskyns, Esq., M.P., the Rev. Canon Hubbersty, M.A., the Rev. Frederick George Lee, D.C.L., F.S.A., the Rev. John Dryden Hodgson, M.A., George Scharf, Esq., F.S.A., Courtenay Boyle, Esq., and Henry Barrett-Lennard, Esq. To the last-named gentleman he is further indebted for the use of the MS. History of the Lennard family compiled by the last Lord Dacre of that name, exhumed from the Belhus muniments, and with great judgment enlarged, by himself.

SUNDRIDGE, SEVENOAKS,

July 31, 1871.

Memoir of Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland.

FEMALE beauty in England seems to have commenced its reign about the same time as that of Charles II. The portraits of our fair ones who lived in earlier days but little represent divinities. Sir Peter Lely, happily for his desire of immortality, found goddesses in plenty when he adopted a new country. Amongst them we may fairly acknowledge as the all-powerful queen of love her whose history it is now our endeavour to write—the first idol of her sovereign's worship, and his tyrant—the lady of a thousand charms—Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland.

It is not required of us to set out the pedigree of the very ancient family of De Villiers, as it may be found in many printed books. It will be sufficient for our purpose to mention that Sir George Villiers, Knt., of Brookesby, co. Leicester, by his first wife, Audrey, daughter and heiress of William Sanders, Esq., of Har-

rington, co. Northampton, had two sons, Sir William, created a baronet, July 19, 1619, and Sir Edward, knighted, September 7, 1616; and by his second wife, Mary, daughter of Anthony Beaumont, Esq., of Glenfield, co. Leicester, created Countess of Buckingham for life, July 1, 1618, three sons; John, created Viscount Purbeck, June 19, 1619; George, created Duke of Buckingham, May 18, 1623; and Christopher, created Earl of Anglesea, April 18, 1623. Sir Edward Villiers, by Barbara, eldest daughter of Sir John St. John, and niece of Oliver St. John, first Viscount Grandison in Ireland, was the father of four sons:—William, of whom presently; John, third Viscount Grandison; George, fourth Viscount; and Sir Edward, a Colonel, Master of the Robes, and a Groom of the Bedchamber to James Duke of York, and subsequently Knight Marshall of the Royal Household, from whom descend the Earls of Jersey and Clarendon. This bare list of names and titles—how few of the titles the reward of merit!—will be found useful in explaining the relationship between the Duchess and several persons hereafter brought in connection with her.

The parish in which Barbara, the only child of William, second Viscount Grandison, a title that came to him by the death *s.p.* of Oliver, the first Viscount, was born, may be considered as ascertained, for her baptism, its date, November 27, 1640, is recorded in the register of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster. Her mother was the Hon. Mary, third daughter of Paul, first Viscount Bayning, and sister and co-heiress of Paul, the second Viscount. When less than three years old, she had the misfortune to lose her gallant and loyal father: at the siege of Bristol, on July 24, 1643, he received a wound which terminated his life towards the end of August, in the city of Oxford, and there made familiar to us by the pencil of Vandyck and by the pen of Clarendon; sepulchre was found for him in Christ Church. "He was," says Lord Clarendon, in words that once read cannot easily be forgotten, "a young man of so virtuous a habit of mind, that no temptation or provocation could corrupt him; so great a lover of justice and integrity, that no example, necessity, or even the barbarity of this war, could make him swerve from the most precise rules

of it; and of that rare piety and devotion, that the court, or camp, could not shew a more faultless person, or to whose example young men might more reasonably conform themselves. His personal valour and courage of all kinds, (for he had sometimes indulged so much to corrupt opinion of honour as to venture himself in duels,) were very eminent, in-
somuch as he was accused of being too prodigal of his person; his affection, zeal, and obedience to the king, was such as became a branch of that family, and he was wont to say 'that if he had not understanding enough to know the uprightness of the cause, nor loyalty enough to inform him of the duty of a subject, yet the very obligations of gratitude to the king, on the behalf of his house, were such as his life was but a due sacrifice;' and, therefore, he no sooner saw the war unavoidable, than he engaged all his brethren, as well as himself, in the service, and there were then three more of them in command in the army, where he was so unfortunately cut off^a."

His full-length portrait, worthy of its great

^a History of the Rebellion, 1707, ii., part i. ff. 299, 300.

painter, in the possession of the Duke of Grafton, represents a man in form and face worthy of the great author's description of his character. His epitaph may still be read upon the stately white marble monument at Oxford, erected to his memory by his daughter, who so little resembled him in disposition. It is as follows :—

H. S. I.
 GULIELMUS VILLIERS,
 VICE COMES GRANDISON
 DE LIMERICO
 MARTIS ET GRATIARUM CERTAMEN ;
 QUI
 . ORIS VENUSTISSIMI DECUS
 FACTIS PULCHERRIMIS MAGIS HONESTAVIT :
 POST RES MAXIMAS
 IN BELGIO, HIBERNIA, DEMUM ANGLIA GESTAS,
 CUM A PARTIBUS REGIIS ADVERSUS REBELLES
 IN OBSESSAM BRISTOLIAM LEGIONES DUCERET,
 PRIMUS ADMOTIS SCALIS VALLUM SUPERAVIT,
 DUCISQUE NON UNO NOMINE FUNCTUS OFFICIO,
 MILITIS ITA SEU VIRTUTEM,
 SEU PUDOREM ACCENDIT,
 UT PROPUGNACULIS POTIRETUR :
 GLANDE INTERIM FEMUR TRAJECTUS,
 CUPRESSUM LAURO INTEXUIT,
 RECEPTÆ URBIS GRANDE NIMIS PRETIUM,
 OXONIAM DELATUS OBIIT,

SUB FINEM MENSIS AUG.^b AN^o MDCXLIII.

ÆTATIS SUÆ XXX.

M. H.

OPTIMO PARENTI

BARBARA CLEVELANDIÆ DUCISSA

PIETATIS ERGO

P.

The Lady Grandison was about eighteen at the time of her lord's death, and she continued a widow until April 25, 1648, when, in the church of St. Bartholomew-the-Less, London (now destroyed), she united herself to a second husband, the cousin-german of the first, Charles Villiers, Earl of Anglesea. He was a nobleman without an estate, and his place of residence is unknown. There is some reason to believe that his house was in the city, and that there his step-daughter made the acquaintance of her first lover, Philip Stanhope, second Earl of Chesterfield, a youthful widower, with a very agreeable face, and a fine head of hair. When we add to these personal advantages his wit, we have transferred from

^b If this month is correct the remains of Lord Grandison continued long unburied, until October 2.

the "Mémoires du Comte de Grammont" all that Count Hamilton has been able to say in the favour of one who was to lead where so many were to follow. We may further say of him that he was the darling of the darlings, an expert swordsman, as he proved in more than one duel, and, according to information conveyed to Dean Swift, "the greatest knave in England^c."

"Being left destitute both of a father and a fortune," writes Boyer of Barbara, "when she came first to London, she appear'd in a very plain country dress; but this was soon altered into the gaiety and mode of the Town, which adding new lustre to that blooming beauty, of which she had as great a share as any of her sex, she became the object of divers young gentlemen's affections^d." It was in 1656 that a girl of sixteen found the Earl, who had returned to England in the month of September, after an absence of two years, on succeeding to his grandfather's honours and estates, at

^c MS. notes in Macky's Memoirs, 1733, f. 96.

^d The History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne. (Appendix, Annual List of the Deaths, &c.), 1722, f. 48.

her feet. His attentions were not those called honourable—perhaps such were neither expected nor required; and before the year had expired he was three times asked in the church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields^e with another lady, Mary, daughter and heiress of Thomas Lord Fairfax, the wife designed by fate for her father's cousin-german George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. In a letter dated only "1656," and evidently written from Bretby, the Earl thus addresses his charmer "Mrs. Villers" for the first time.

"MADAM,

"Cruelty and absence have ever been thought the most infallible remedies for such a distemper as mine, and yet I find both of them so ineffectuall that they make mee but the more incurable; seriously, Madam, you ought at least to afford some compassion to one in so desperat a condition, for by only wishing mee more fortunat you will make mee so. Is it not a strang magick in love, which gives so powerfull a charme to the least of your cruel words, that they indanger to kill a man at a hundered miles distance; but why doe I complaine of so pleasant a death, or

^e Memoir of Philip, second Earl of Chesterfield, prefixed to his Letters, f. 19. From this source other particulars of his biography have been derived.

repine at those sufferings which I would not change for a diadem? No, Madam, the idea I have of your perfections is too glorious to be shadowed either by absence or time; and if I should never more see the sun, yet I should not cease from admiring his light; therefore do not seek to darken my weakness by endeavoring to make me adore you less;

“For if you decree that I must die,
falling is nobler, then retiring,
and in the glory of aspiring
it is brave to tumble from the sky.”

This very gallant epistle is found among the “Letters of Philip, second Earl of Chesterfield,” published in 1829, from transcripts made by the Earl himself¹. The six that follow are from the same collection, and are addressed by Mrs. Villiers to the Earl. One is a joint communication, and the young lady friends, from what became afterwards known of Lady Anne Hamilton, must have been even at this time of very congenial dispositions.

¹ f. 77. The editor of the letters has omitted some of a very indecent character, addressed “to a wanton, whose mind and propensities, of equal grossness, could receive no possible pollution from the language of his lordship’s prudence.” f. 68. Can this be his opinion of Barbara Villiers? The whole correspondence was discovered in the library of Bath House in 1809.

"From Mrs. Villars, afterward Dutchess of Cleaveland.

1657.

"MY LORD,

"I would fain have had the happyness to have seen you at church this day, but I was not suffered to goe. I am never so well pleasd as when I am with you, though I find you are better when you are with other ladyes; for you were yesterday all the afternoone with the person I am most jealous of, and I know I have so little merrit that I am suspicious you love all women better than my selfe. I sent you yesterday a letter that I think might convince you that I loved nothing besides your selfe, nor will I ever, though you should hate mee; but if you should, I would never give you the trouble of telling you how much I loved you, but keep it to my selfe till it had broke my hart. I will importune you no longer than to say, that I am, and ever will be, your constant and faithfull humble servant *."

"From Mrs. Villars, since Dutches of Cleaveland.

1657.

"MY LORD,

"I doe highly regret my own misfortune of being out of town, since it made mee incapable of the honour you intended mee. I assure you nothing

* ff. 86, 87.

is likelier to make mee sett to high rate of my selfe,
than the esteem you are pleasd to say^b you have for
mee. You cannot bestow your favours and obliga-
tions on any that has a more pationat resentment
of them, nor can they ever of any receive a more
sincere reception than from,

“ My Lord,
“ Your.” ^b

“ *From the Same.*

1657.

“ MY LORD,

“ It is ever my ill fortune to be disappointed of
what I most desire, for this afternoon I did promis to
myselfe the satisfaction of your company ; but I feare
I am disappointed, which I assure you is no small
affliction to mee ; but I hope the faits may yet be
so kind as to let me see you about five a clock ; if
you will be at your private lodgings in Lincoln's Inn
feilds, I will endeavour to come, and assure you of
my being,

“ My Lord,
“ Yours, &c.” ⁱ

“ *From the Lady Ann Hambleton and Mrs. Villars.*

1657.

“ MY LORD,

“ My freind and I are just now abed together
a contriving how to have your company this after-

^b f. 87.

ⁱ f. 88.

noune. If you deserve this favour, you will come and seek us at Ludgate Hill, about three a clock, at Butler's shop, where wee will expect you: but least we should

"Yours, &c." ^j

*"From Mrs. Villars, since Dutches of Cleaveland, when
I was at Tunbridg.*

1657.

"MY LORD,

"I came just now from the Dutches of Hambleton, and there I found, to my great affliction, that the Lady Ann was sent to Windsor, and the world sayes that you are the occation of it. I am sorry to hear that the having a kindness for you is so great a crime that people are to suffer for it; the only satisfaction that one doth receive is, that their cause is so glorious that it is sufficient to preserve a tranquillity of mind, that all their mallice can never discompose. I see that the fates were resolved to make mee happier than I could expect, for when I came home I found a letter that came from your lordship, which makes mee beleive that amoungst the pleasures you receive in the place where you are, which I hear affords great plenty of fine ladyes, you sometimes think of her who is,

"My Lord,

"Your, &c." ^k

^j ff. 88, 89.

^k f. 90.

"From Mrs. Villars, since Dutches of Cleaveland.

1657.

"MY LORD,

"The joy I had of being with you the last night, has made me doe nothing but dream of you, and my life is never pleasant to mee but when I am with you or talking of you; yet the discourses of the world must make mee a little more circumspect; therefore I desier you not to come to morrow, but to stay till the party be come to town. I will not faile to meet you on Sathurday morning, till when I remaine your humble servant¹."

[The two following letters are from the Earl :—

"To Mrs. Villars, since Mrs. Pamer, afterwards Dutches of Cleaveland.

1657.

"MADAM,

"I need not tell your ladyship how unfortunat I was in missing the opportunity of wating on you when you were last in town; since you have reason to believe, that the paying you my respects, and your acceptance of my service, are both the ambition and pleasure of my life. I hope this letter will be so fortunat as to kiss your hands, and yet I envy it a happyness that I want my selfe; but how ever my ill fate hath devided mee from that place which is made happy by your presence, I beseech you to

¹ f. 91.

beleive, that though my joyes may languish, yet my passion shall last in its primative vigour, and preserve me ever,

"Madam,

"Your, &c." ^m

"*To Mrs. Villars, since Dutches of Cleaveland.*

1657.

"MADAM,

"Though I have hardly ended one letter, I am forced to begin a nother, since mee thinks that the first was so full of business, that there wanted roome to express the kindness that should shine in all my actions; but could I set down all I think upon that subject, all the paper of the town (though to much to send you) were to little to doe it; for having an object so transcending all that ever was before, it coins new thoughts, which want fresh words, to speak the language of a soul that might jusly teach all others how to love. I am,

"Madam,

"Yours, &c." ⁿ

This correspondence,—even if nothing more of it was to follow,—cannot fail to convince the reader that the Earl of Chesterfield,—to call in request the remark of the editor of his letters, "had received the ultimate favours in the power of a female to bestow" before the

^m f. 92.

ⁿ f. 92.

lady became Madam Palmer. Her change of name took place on April 14, 1659, and in the church of St. Gregory by St. Paul's, (now, like that of St. Bartholomew-the-Less, destroyed). The Earl of Anglesea's residence was, we may assume, in this parish, and this being the fact we can account for the assignation made by the two young ladies in Ludgate Hill, as well as Mrs. Villiers' acquaintance with her husband. Roger Palmer, the happy man, was the second son of Sir James Palmer, Knt., of Hayes, co. Middlesex, and of Dorney, co. Buckingham, Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, third son of Sir Thomas Palmer, the first Baronet, of Wingham, co. Kent; and the only son, by his second wife, the Hon. Katherine Herbert, daughter of William, first Lord Powis. His marriage took place against the approbation of his father, "who, having strong surmises of the misfortunes that would attend this match, used all the arguments that paternal affection could suggest to dissuade his son from it," and successfully during his life. At the time

^a
° The History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne (Appendix, Annual List of the Deaths, &c.), f. 48.

of his courtship and marriage, Mr. Palmer was a student of the Inner Temple, the date of his admission being, October 29, 1656.

The love-making was not to cease with the married state. There was no difference in the conduct of Madam Palmer and Mrs. Villiers, as is clearly evidenced by the two letters addressed by the married lady to her seducer, which we now produce. Nine months could not be permitted to run out before "the Mounser's" jealousy was to be roused. By the Earl's indorsement of one of them, we learn that the lady when writing it was very ill of the small-pox, a terrible complaint, which in her case shewed a most unusual respect for beauty :—

"From Mrs. Pamer, since Dutches of Cleaveland.

1659.

"MY LORD,

"Since I saw you, I have been at home, and I find the *mounser* in a very ill humer, for he sayes that he is resolved never to bring mee to town againe, and that nobody shall see me when I am in the country. I would not have you come to day, for that would displease him more ; but send mee word presently what you would advise me to doe, for I am ready

and willing to goe all over the world with you,
and I will obey your commands, that am whilst
I live,

"Yours^p."

*"From Mrs. Pamer, since Dutches of Cleaveland, when
she was very ill of the small pox.*

1659.

"MY DEAR LIFE,

"I have been this day extreemly ill, and the not
hearing from you hath made mee much worse then
otherwayes I should have been. The doctor doth
beleive mee in a desperat condition, and I must con-
fess, that the unwillingness I have to leave you,
makes mee not intertaine the thoughts of deathe so
willingly as otherwais I should ; for there is nothing
besides yourselfe that could make me desire to live
a day ; and, if I am never so happy as to see you
more, yet the last words I will say shall be a praire
for your happyness, and so I will live and dey loving
you above all other things, who am,

"My Lord,

"Yours, &c."^q

The next two letters from the Earl of Ches-
terfield to Mrs. Villiers will close the epistolary
correspondence between the lovers during the
lady's unmarried life :—

^p ff. 102, 103.

^q f. 103.

"MADAM,

"I will not believe that you are not well, for the certaine newse of your being sick would infalibly make mee so; and I doe not find myselfe yet fitt for another world. Besides, I am confident that if I did goe to heaven before you, I should want something there till you came; and, therefore, pray send mee word that you are in perfect health, and be not so unjust both to yourself and mee, as to tell me any more that I doe flatter you; for I was never guilty of that vice, and doe know that it is much harder to speak those truths which you deserve, than to flatter any body else, and therefore I will only say that I am,

"Madam,

"Yours, &c.,

"C."^r

1659.

"MADAM,

"Nothing could be more welcome to mee, than a letter under your own hand, to assure mee of your perfect recovery. For which favour I doe want words to express ressentments; tho it was but a peece of justice in you to lessen the apprehensions of a person who doth more participate in your good and bad fortune, than all the rest of mortals. Had I thought that my comming to town could either have been

serviceable or acceptable to your ladyship, you should certainly have seen at London, not at the bottom of a letter,

“ Madam,
“ Your most faithfull humble
“ Servant,

“C.”^s

An event now took place which put an end to this love-making for a time, and rid Mr. Palmer, for a time only, of his lady's favoured lover. On January 17, 1659-60, Pepys on his way to Kensington heard that the Earl of Chesterfield “had killed another gentleman about half-an-hour before, and was fled^t.” The gentleman whose tragic end we have here brought before us was Mr. Francis Wolley, a student of the Middle Temple, perhaps the husband's friend, and son of the Rev. Edward Wolley, D.D., who had been a chaplain to Charles I., and who after the Restoration became Rector of Toppesfield, Essex, and died Bishop of Clonfort. He fell at the very early age of twenty-three years, and in the church of Fulham, the adjoining parish to Kensington, is a Latin in-

^s ff. 104, 105.

^t Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, F.R.S., 1854, i. ff. 8, 9.

scription to his memory. The Earl made for Calais, and joined the Court of the Queen-mother at the Palais Royal. From here, having on February 22 addressed a letter to the King at Brussels, throwing himself upon his mercy, and having received a favourable reply dated April 2, he set out for Breda, where the King, being advised by General Monk to quit the Spanish dominions, had removed a few days after writing to him. At this place he obtained the royal pardon for his homicide, and leaving the King to his negotiations with the Parliament, immediately returned to Paris, whence he started for Bourbonne les Bains. The letter following, addressed to Madam Palmer,—already causing the same uneasiness to lover and husband,—is dated from the baths :—

*" To Mrs. Pamer, since Dutches of Cleaveland, from
Bourbon in France.*

1660.

" MADAM,

" My letters have equally with my thoughts attended you from all the considerable parts of my journey, and when compassion or gratitud has possibly obliged you to make a return, I have thought all my sufferings not meritorious of their recompence.

But, Madam, the newse I have from England concerning your ladyship, makes me doubt of every thing ; and therefore let me entreate you to send mee your picture^u, for then I shall love something that is like you and yet unchangeable, and though it will have no great return of kindness, yet I am sure it will love nobody else better than your very humble servant,

“C.”^x

The Earl whilst at Bourbonne, hearing of the happy turn in Charles's affairs, retraced his steps to Calais, where, taking ship for England on May 25, he fell in with “The Naseby,” carrying the King from the Hague to his restored dominions, and being received on board that vessel, landed with his Sovereign at Dover the same day. In a vessel of the same fleet, if not in “The Naseby,” there is little reason to doubt came also to England Sir Samuel Morland, knighted on the 10th of this month at Breda, and seen by Pepys on board “The Naseby” when anchored off Scheveling five days after.

According to Mrs. Jameson, who gives no

^u A miniature of the Duchess was exhibited by the present Earl of Chesterfield at South Kensington Museum in 1865. No. 772.

^x ff. 112, 113.

authority for her assertion, Roger Palmer, accompanied by his lady in 1659, the year of their marriage, resorted to the King in Holland. "He carried with him," she says, "a considerable sum of money to aid in his restoration, and assisted him also by his personal services." On this occasion she concludes Charles and Madam Palmer first became acquainted⁷. Now during the whole of 1659 the King resided in Brussels, so that part of the story is contradicted, and the truth of its sequel is gravely called into question. It is an admitted fact, that the night of the 29th of May,—the day commemorated until lately in our Church Service,—was passed by the King and Barbara together; but Mrs. Jameson, again without giving an authority, has drawn the curtain around the guilty parties in the house of Sir Samuel Morland at Vauxhall⁸. This knight and friend of the King's *may* have had a residence in the parish of Lambeth before the Restoration, but as he was an under Secretary of State at the time, it is more probable that

⁷ Memoirs of the Beauties of the Court of Charles the Second, 1838, i. ff. 71, 72.

⁸ Ibid., i. f. 72.

he lived in London; and as he did not obtain from the Crown a lease of Vauxhall mansion and grounds until April 19, 1675^a, the foundations of a very improbable story, whoever originated it, are considerably shaken, if not crumbled into dust. We may with greater safety assign *the place* to Whitehall Palace on the authority of the authors of "The Secret History of the Reign of Charles II. and James II.^b," and of "The History of the Reign of Queen Anne digested into Annals^c;" the first writing in the lifetime of Barbara, the second in the year after her death^d.

^a Pat. 27, Car. II. p. 1, No. 24. There is an engraving of the ancient manor-house, Vauxhall, in *Londina Illustrata*, 1819, i. "from an ancient drawing in the possession of Mr. John Simco."

^b 1690, f. 22. The author of this book says that Barbara was supposed to have been a daughter of Queen Henrietta Maria, by the Earl of St. Alban's! Sir John Reresby attests that there were children of this marriage (*Memoirs*, 1735, f. 4); and Pepys, December 31, 1662, mentions the common talk of their having had a daughter born in France.

^c The History of the Reign of Queen Anne digested into Annals, 1710, viii. f. 388.

^d The night, without the place, is mentioned by the Earl of Dartmouth in Burnet's History of his Own Times, 1833, i. f. 94; by Oldmixon in his Critical History of England, 1726, ii. ff. 276, 301, and in his History of the Stuarts, 1730, i. f. 471; so also in The Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II., by a Member of his Privy Council, 1792, i. f. 445. The anonymous author of Augustus

In the Convention Parliament, which met April 25, 1660, Mr. Palmer had been returned Burgess for Windsor, and his residence, convenient for his senatorial duties, was in Kingstreet, Westminster. Here he was found when shortly after the King came first to his palace of Whitehall. His house seems to have been at the north end of the west side of the street, and close to the lodgings of the Earl of Sandwich in Whitehall, and in it was given the musical party honoured by the presence of the King and the Dukes of York and Gloucester, on July 13, 1660. On this day the name of Madam Palmer is first brought before us by Pepys. "Late writing letters," he says, having before announced his arrival at the Earl's, "and great doings of musique at the next house, which was Whally's^e; the King and Dukes there with Madame Palmer,

Anglicus, a Compendious View of the Life and Reign of that immortal and glorious Monarch Charles II., 1686, merely consigns the King after supper to "a sweet and sedate repose." f. 91.

That the King and the lady had met at the Hague in 1660 is probable. They may have come over to England together in "The Naseby," or they may have met at Dover. It is not probable that their first interview took place on the night of the Restoration day.

• Major-General Edward Whalley, the regicide.

a pretty woman that they had a fancy to, to make her husband a cuckold. Here at the old door that did go into his lodgings my Lord, I, and W. Howe did stand listening a great while to the musique." Three months after this, viz. on October 14, we find Pepys' first record of his having seen his favourite lady. She was in Whitehall chapel, it cannot be said attending to Dr. Herbert Croft's indifferent sermon, and with her the King, the Duke of York, and the Princess Royal. "Here I also observed," says our journalist, "how the Duke of York and Mrs. Palmer did talk to one another very wantonly through the hangings that parts the King's closet and the closet where the ladies sit."

We must begin the next year by recording the death of Madam Palmer's stepfather. Singular it is that the day and place of this event cannot be ascertained. It is known only so far that the Earl of Anglesea was buried on February 4, 1660-1¹. Twenty-five days after his burial—exactly nine months from the Restoration day—Madam Palmer gave birth—the

¹ Herald Painters' Work-Book (Coll. Arm.), I. b. iii. f. 115.

place is again wanting—to Anne her first child, acknowledged by her husband and the King, but generally assigned to the Earl of Chesterfield, “whom,” says Lord Dartmouth, “she resembled very much both in face and person.” On April 20, Pepys found entrance to the Cockpit, and there saw “The Humerous Lieutenant” acted before the King and the Duke and Duchess of York, his great pleasure being “to see the manner of it, and so many great beauties, but above all, Mrs. Palmer, with whom the King do discover a great deal of familiarity.” On July 23, he was at the theatre in Drury-lane, called afterwards the King’s, where “Brenoralt” was acted, and when he sat before “Mrs. Palmer, the King’s mistress,” much pleased to fill his eyes with her. On the 27th of the following month he was with his wife at the theatre in Drury-lane, the play being “The Joviall Crew,” and the King, the Duke and Duchess of York, and Madame Palmer present; as he was, accompanied by his wife, and the young ladies Montagu on September 7, the performance being “Bartholo-

▪ Burnet’s History of his Own Times, i. f. 94.

mew Fair," with the puppet-show, and here again were the King, the Duke of York, and Madame Palmer.

Let us now withdraw from the play-house for a time. After the preliminaries had been settled for the nuptials of Charles II. and Catherine of Braganza, there was yet a third party whose claims upon the King—urged with pertinency and received with compliance—required a settlement. It was the desire of the one as much as of the other that the mistress should be bound by stronger ties to the court when it was presided over by the wife, and with this view Mrs. Palmer demanded, and the King consented to procure for her on his marriage, the appointment of a Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen. In furtherance of a project, which no argument can excuse, the lady was elevated, through her dishonoured husband, to a countess's rank. The two following short notes, addressed to Sir William Morrice, one of the Secretaries of State, by Charles, on this last occasion, are copied from transcripts made from the originals for Thomas Barrett Lennard, last Lord Dacre of his name,

and still preserved among the muniments at Belhus. The date of the second is remarkable as being two days only in advance of that on which Catherine, considered to be Queen Consort, was as such first prayed for in the London churches^b :—

"Whithall, 16 Octr.

"Prepare a Warrant for Mr. Roger Palmer to be an Irish Earle, to him and his heirs of his body gottèn on Barbara Palmer, his now wife, with the date blanke.

"C.

"Let me have it as soon as you can.

"C.

"To Mr. Secretary Morrice."

"Whithall 8 Nov., morning.

"Prepare a Warrant for Mr. Roger Palmer to be barron of Limbericke and Earle of Castlemaine, in the same forme as the last was, and let me have it before dinnier.

"C.

"For Mr. Secretary Morrice."

The title-making did not go on very rapidly, for the patent creating Roger Palmer, Esq., Earl of Castlemaine, and Baron Limerick, in the peerage of Ireland, bears no earlier date than December 11, 1661. On the 7th of this

^b Pepys.

month Pepys, at the Privy Seal Office, saw the patent, and remarks on the limitation of the honours to the *lady's* heirs male, "the reason whereof every body knows."

Lord Chesterfield has not preserved the minor dates of the letters written by or to him. We consequently only know that in the course of the year we are writing upon, he somehow managed to offend Madame or Countess—not unlikely from the nature of the man, for he was in one particular a very proper match for his lady—by a new intrigue. We here resume his correspondence.

*"To the [Countess of Castlemaine, since] Dutches
of Cleaveland.*

1661.

"MADAM,

"After so many years service, fidelity, and respect, to be banished for the first offence is very hard, especially after asking so many pardons. If heaven with you should be as rigorous as you are with mee, I doubt you never would see it, but in your glasse: therefore, use mee as you doe your domestics, that is, blame mee for the first fault, and if I doe not mend, turn away your very humble servant,

"C."¹

¹ ff. 116, 117.

*"To the [Countess of Castlemaine, since] Dutches
of Cleaveland.*

1661.

"MADAM,

"Let mee not live, if I did believe that all the women on earth could have given mee so great an affliction as I have suffer'd by your displeasure. 'Tis tru, I ever loved you as one should doe heaven, that is, more than the world, but I never thought you would have sent mee there before my time; I confess I have alwayes found you so just, and so apt to excuse the faults of your freinds, that I had rather be condemned to loose the light than your kindness; but therefore doe not suffer one to perish who desires only to live upon your account. Besides, naturally I hate dying, and it is one of the last things I would willingly doe to shew my passion; yet, if you will neither answer my letters, nor speak to mee before I goe out of town, it is more than an even lay that I shall never come into it againe; and then above three parts of all the love that mankind has for you, will be lost in

"Your obedient servant ^k."

On January 22, 1661-2, Pepys, calling on the Hon. George Montagu, was informed by that gentleman of private factions at Court about

^k ff. 117, 118.

Madam Palmer, as he still calls Lady Castlemaine, "something about the King's favour to her now that the Queene is coming." On April 21, he was told by Sir Thomas Carew how the fair Villiers, cousins, Mary, Duchess of Lennox and Richmond, daughter of the first Duke of Buckingham of the name, and Lady Castlemaine, "had a falling-out the other day; and she"—the Duchess—"calls the other Jane Shore, and did hope to see her come to the same end." On May 10, dining at the Wardrobe, Lady Sandwich told him "how my Lady Castlemaine do speak of going to lie in at Hampton Court; which she and all our ladies"—her daughters—"are much troubled at, because of the King's being forced to shew her countenance in the sight of the Queene when she comes." From the 12th to the 17th of this month, as we shall presently see, the King dined and supped with the Countess at her house in King-street. On May 14, again at the Wardrobe, Pepys heard from Lady Sandwich that she was "afraid that my Lady Castlemaine will keep in still with the King."

Charles II. married Catherine of Braganza

on May 21, 1662, at Portsmouth, and on this very day Pepys and his wife went to the Earl of Sandwich's lodgings at Whitehall, and walked, my lord being with the King and Queen, in the privy-garden. Here he saw "the finest smocks and linnen petticoats of my Lady Castlemaine's, laced with rich lace at the bottom," that his eyes ever beheld; and it did him "good to look at them. Sarah"—this is Lord Sandwich's housekeeper—he continues, "told me how the King dined at my Lady Castlemaine's, and supped, every day and night the last week; and that the night the bonfires were made for joy of the Queen's arrival,"—the 13th,— "the King was there; but there was no fire at her door, though at all the rest of the doors almost in the street; which was much observed; and that the King and she did send for a pair of scales and weighed one another; and she, being with child, was said to be heaviest. But she is now a most disconsolate creature, and comes not out of doors since the King's going,"—the 19th.—"But we went to the theatre, to the 'French Dancing Mistress,' and there with much pleasure we saw and gazed upon Lady

Castlemaine; but it troubles us to see her look dejectedly, and slighted by people already."

Not many weeks after the royal marriage, and while the King and Queen abided at Hampton Court, Lady Castlemaine, at her house in King-street, gave birth to her second child, Charles. He was born in June, and by the direction of Lord Castlemaine, who had become a Roman Catholic, baptized by a priest. This proceeding, as if there was no other to accomplish such an object, stirred up such a quarrel between husband and wife as to lead to their speedy separation. Some days after the baptism of the boy—in the presence of his god-parents, the King, Aubrey, Earl of Oxford, and Barbara (née Villiers), Countess of Suffolk, first Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen, and Lady Castlemaine's aunt—he was again baptized by the Rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster, who has thus recorded the act in the register of his church¹.

1662, June 18. "Charles Palmer, L^d Limbricke, s. to y^e right honor^{ble} Roger, Earl of Castlemaine, by Barbara."

¹ Pepys, July 26.

On July 6, Lady Sandwich was much troubled to tell Pepys "that my Lady Castlemaine is still as great with the King, and that the King comes as often to her as ever he did." Ten days from this date and her ladyship withdrew for ever from her lord, and taking with her all her plate, jewels, and other best things, every dish and cloth, and servant, except the porter, repaired to Richmond Palace, the residence of her uncle Colonel Edward Villiers^m. She was on this day permitted to kiss the Queen's hand at Hampton Courtⁿ. On July 26 Pepys had heard that Lord Castlemaine had "gone discontented into France, they say, to enter a monastery; and now she is coming back to her house in King-street." Before this date a terrible confusion had commenced at Hampton Court. The King, supposing from his consort's silence respecting her formidable rival—"the finest woman of her age^o"—that she was unacquainted with her existence, had submitted to her a list of the ladies proposed for

^m Pepys. ⁿ Letter from the Earl of Clarendon to the Duke of Ormond, July 17, 1662; Lister's *Life of Clarendon*, iii. f. 208.

^o Sir John Reresby, *Memoirs*, 1734, f. 10.

her bedchamber, and the Queen had pricked out the name of Lady Castlemaine. By the King's command, Lord Clarendon, much against his inclination, had twice visited his royal mistress with a view of inducing her, by persuasions which he could not justify, to give way to the King's determination to have Lady Castlemaine of her household, and the Queen has been discontented a whole day and a night with the King, and had expressed her desire, rather than avail herself of the lady's services, to be sent back to her own country. Lord Clarendon has given a full account of all that transpired between himself, the King, and the Queen, on this very unpleasant business; how the Queen, deceived by an artifice, had permitted the lady to approach her royal person and to kiss her royal hand; how the blood gushed from her nostrils, and how she was carried from the apartment in a fit on discovering the cheat; how the King was incensed at the Queen's ill-temper, as he termed it, and insisted that Lady Castlemaine had a right to reparation from her for a public insult, and that this could only be by the appointment being conferred which she

and he urgently asked for; and how a third visit, paid by his lordship, at the King's command, was followed by no good result^p. The means by which Charles triumphed is unknown, but in the end the lady became of Catherine's bedchamber, but evidently not before August 23, when the King and Queen together went by water from Hampton Court—the seat of their stormy honeymoon—and took up their residence at Whitehall^q.

From a satire published in 1662 with the singular name of "The Chimney's Scuffle"^r—a title born of the newly-invented chimney-hearth tax—we have copied the following lines touching upon the Lady Castlemaine's beauty, the appointment she held in the household of her outraged Queen, and to her assumed conversion to a life of morality:—

"Clear that Augean stable; let no stain
Darken the splendor of our Charlemain,

^p Continuation of Life of Clarendon, 1759, ff. 168—178.

^q Pepys.

^r There is a copy of this book, a small 4to. of sixteen pages, in the British Museum Library. It has for a motto—

"Publica fumantes tetigere tributa Caminos
Naribus audacis fastidiosa plebis."

Nor his court gate : may th' ladies of this time
Be emulators of our Katherine,
Late come, long wish'd :

The world's new moulded : she who t' other day
Could chant and chirp like any bird in May,
Stor'd with caresses of the dearest sort,
That art could purchase from a foreign court,
Limn'd so by Nature's pencil, as no part
But gave a wound, where'er it found an heart ;
' A fortress and *main castle* of defence,
Secur'd from all assailants saving Sense.'

But she's a convert and a mirrour now,
Both in her carriage and profession too ;
Divorc'd from strange embraces : as my pen
May justly style her England's Magdalen.
Wherein she's to be held of more esteem
In being fam'd a convert of the Queen.
And from relapse that she secur'd might be,
She wisely daigns to keep her companie *."

In the picture-gallery at Dorney Court hangs a three-quarter length portrait of Lady Castlemaine by Lely, the same that Pepys could not obtain a sight of when, on June 18 this year, he visited the artist's studio (?), which in a happy manner illustrates the poetical lines above quoted. The Countess, who is standing, holds in the palm of her right *main a castle*.

* ff. 14, 15.

The lodgings in Whitehall Palace assigned to Lady Castlemaine were in that part of it separated from the main buildings by "the street," a connecting link between King-street and Whitehall, as the wide road from King and Parliament-streets to Charing Cross is called, and enclosed at either end by a gate. On the east side of "the street," extending along its whole length, was the Privy-garden. On the west side, at the south end, the lodgings of the Earl of Sandwich with their garden, afterwards converted into a tennis-court, reaching half way down. The other half, divided from this garden by a passage leading to the Cockpit, sustained a detached pile of buildings, which, as far as the front and back centre were concerned, had been appropriated to two "lodgers,"—the south half to the Lady Castlemaine. At each end of the back premises, bounded by a passage leading from the park to the Cockpit passage, were lodgings appropriated to two gentlemen of the Privy Chamber in ordinary¹.

¹ There is an engraving by Virtue, published in 1747, of the ground-plot of the royal palace of Whitehall, with the lodgings and apartments belonging to their Majesties, surveyed by John Fisher,

The site of all the buildings on the west of "the street" is now covered by the Home, Treasury, and Privy Council Offices.

Before we reach the royal palace it will be as well to add a remark made by Pepys on the King's reported promise to have nothing more to do with his mistress. "I can not believe," he says, "that the King can fling her off so, he loving her too well: and so I writ this night"—that of July 26—"to my Lady" (i.e. of Sandwich) "to be my opinion; she calling her my lady, and the lady I admire." The promise attributed to the King may probably be found in the words he addressed to Lord Clarendon, when he said that "the lady would behave with all duty and humility to her Majesty, which if she should not fail to do, she should never see his face again".

On August 23 their majesties landed at

A.D. 1680, from the original drawing in the possession of the Duke of Portland. This survey must have been laid down some years before that given to it, as the names of some of the occupiers of the palace have been retained after their deaths or removals. The Duke of Monmouth's kitchen is still called the Countess of Castlemaine's, and the Duke of Albemarle still inhabits the Cockpit, as Captain Henry Cooke does Lord Sandwich's lodgings.

▪ Continuation of Life, f. 173.

Whitehall bridge, and were so looked upon admiringly by Pepys from the roof of the new Banqueting-house whilst the great guns went off. "But that which pleased me best was," he says, "that my Lady Castlemaine stood over against us upon a piece of White Hall. But methought it was strange to see her Lord and her upon the same place walking up and down without taking notice one of another; only at first entry he put off his hat, and she made him a very civil salute, but afterwards took no notice one of another; but both of them now and then would take their child, which the nurse held in her armes, and dandle it." Up to this date it does not seem that Lady Castlemaine had been admitted of the Bedchamber. That the Queen had submitted to the King's will and had surprised every one, including her gracious husband, by entering into conversation with the lady^v before the 7th of the following month, is without a doubt. On this day, Lady Castlemaine was seen by Pepys in the Queen Mother's presence-chamber at Somerset House, in attend-

^v Continuation of Life of Clarendon, f. 180.

ance upon the Queen-Consort, and hanging much upon her Mr. Crofts, the King's bastard*, who is always with her. Here presently came the King, and Duke and Duchess of York to visit the Queen-Mother, and on leaving the King, the Queen, Lady Castlemaine, and young Crofts went away in one coach. "All things are bad with reference to the Lady," writes on the 9th Lord Clarendon to the Duke of Ormond, "but I think not so bad as you hear. Everybody takes her to be of the Bedchamber, for she is always there, and goes abroad in the coach. But the Queen tells me that the King promised her, on condition she would use her as she doth others, that she sho' never live in court, yet lodgings, I think, she hath; I hear of no back stairs†." Now had Catherine commenced—as the same authority has told us in his Autobiography—a different behaviour to Lady Castlemaine, which she maintained throughout Charles's life. She "on a sudden let herself fall first to Conversation and then

* The future Duke of Monmouth.

† Lister's Life of Clarendon, iii. f. 221.

to Familiarity, and even in the same Instant to a Confidence with the Lady; was merry with her in publick, talked kindly of her, and in private used Nobody more friendly*." Accordingly, Pepys soon again found the ladies together. On Sunday, September 21, her Majesty attended service in her chapel at St. James's; but that which pleased him "best was to see my dear Lady Castlemaine, who, though a Protestant, did wait upon the Queene to chapel." On October 6, he could not find Lord Sandwich at his lodgings in Whitehall, he "being at a ball this night with the King at my Lady Castlemaine's, at next door." On the 17th, Lady Castlemaine's interest at court is first mentioned by Pepys: she and Sir Charles Berkeley and Sir Henry Bennet are those who have most of the King's ear. On the 20th, Pepys, at Mr. Lely's, "among other pictures, saw the so-much-desired-by-me picture of my Lady Castlemaine, which is a most blessed picture, and one that I must have a copy of." This portrait is the well-known full-length, representing the lady seated, with her

* Continuation of Life of Clarendon, f. 180.

head resting upon her right hand. On the 24th, Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, informed Pepys that the King "do shew no countenance to any that belong to the Queene;" and "for fear that they should tell her how he carries himself to Lady Castlemaine," that her Majesty's Physician had told him that she knew how he thus carried himself, "yet seeing that she did no good by taking notice of it, for the present she forbears it in policy." On the 27th and 31st Pepys again alludes to the lady's power, and on the 3rd of the following month he hears from Mr. Pierce "that my Lady Castlemaine is with child; but though it be the King's, yet her Lord, being still in towne, and sometimes seeing of her, though never to eat together or cohabit, it will be laid to him." On the 17th, at the Cockpit, witnessing "The Scornful Lady," were the same party of four who, on September 7, departed from the Queen-Mother's presence-chamber together, as we have already mentioned; and on December 15th, Doctor Clerke informs Pepys "that Sir Charles Barkeley's greatness is only his being pimp to the King and to my Lady Castlemaine." "Strange,"

adds he, "how the King is bewitched to this pretty Castlemaine." On the 23rd, we hear for a fourth time of the great interest at court possessed by the lady and her two knightly friends, that of the first being "more and greater than the Queene's." The last day of the year furnished a ball to Whitehall, at which Lady Castlemaine, one of the three best dancers, gave her hand to the Duke of Monmouth in the Branle; and the year itself closed with the King, in daily public dalliance with her, "to his great reproach;" so says Pepys.

In this same year we must introduce a new lover of Barbara's, the King's friend, Colonel James Hamilton, elder brother of the author of "*Mémoires du Comte de Grammont*," and a married Groom of the Bedchamber. Hear his brother Anthony's description of him:—
"Il étoit bien fait de sa personne, et possédoit ces talens heureux qui mènent à la fortune, et qui font réussir en amour. C'étoit le courtisan le plus assidu, l'esprit le mieux tourné, les manières les plus polies, et l'attention la plus régulière pour son maître, qu'on pût avoir. Personne ne dansoit mieux, et per-

sonne n'étoit si coquet ; mérite qu'on comptoit pour quelque chose dans une cour qui ne respiroit que les fêtes et la galanterie^a." He died a soldier's death eleven years later, and the hero's portrait should yet rest in the gallery of the Duke of Abercorn, his descendant. Prodigal of his love, and well supporting his character in one point, he at the same time commenced an attack upon Lady Chesterfield ; and the better to carry on his operations, made the Earl, her husband, a confidant^c of his love for Lady Castlemaine, going even so far as to desire his advice how best he might succeed with her who had fallen to himself,—the advice of one much hated by the King because he had been much beloved by the lady, and of whom it was reported that he had been in her good graces prior to her marriage, a report which, as they neither of them contradicted it, became the more generally believed^b. When George, another brother, whose attentions at the time should have been wholly engrossed by Mrs. Wetenhall, presumed to love the fair

^a *Mémoires du Comte de Grammont*, tome i. 119, 120.

^b *Ibid.*, tome ii. 61.

Stuart, the Chevalier de Gramont remarked to him that he could pardon James's presumption, as *he* only took the fair Castlemaine after the King had done with her, and after Lady Chesterfield had discarded him^c. Before November 3 the wary Earl had carried his too lively Countess from London, out of reach of the Duke of York and Hamilton, and the latter only followed the couple to Bretby to be made a fool of by the lady of green stockings^d.

We now enter upon a new year, 1662-3, and commence it with the following extract from Pepys' Diary, made on its first day :—" Among other discourse, Mrs. Sarah tells us how the King sups at least four times every week with my Lady Castlemaine, and most often stays till the morning with her, and goes home through the [Privy] garden all alone privately, and that so as the very sentrys take notice of it, and speak of it; and that about a month ago Lady Castlemaine quickened at my Lord

^c Mémoires du Comte de Grammont, tome ii. 291.

^d Pepys, i. ff. 346, 375. Mémoires du Comte de Grammont, tome ii. 115—125.

Gerard's at dinner, and cried out that she was undone ; and all the lords and men were fain to quit the room, and women called to help her." Charles Lord Gerard, here alluded to, afterwards by creation Earl of Macclesfield, was a gentleman of the King's Bedchamber, and Captain of the King's troop of Horse Guards. His wife was a French lady born in England, Jane, daughter of M. Peter de Civell. At a supper given by her ladyship, on the evening of January 4, to the King and Queen, all things being prepared and the company assembled, the King withdrew from the party and proceeded to the house of his mistress, where he remained throughout the evening. The two ladies were not friends, and the King, we can believe, only obeyed a command when he left the house of his hostess. The Count de Comminges, Ambassador from France, narrates in amusing terms the commotion, accompanied by inconvenience, which arose in the gay circle on the discovery of the King's flight ; when addressing the Marquis de Lionne the next day. He then goes on to the dissipation of London society,

to which his countryman, the Chevalier de Gramont, had become a party; and mentions the Chevalier's engagements to the King and the Lady Castlemaine, and also the gambling carried on at the tables both of the Queen and of this lady*. Reverting to our favourite Diary. On the 12th, Pepys, accompanying Lord Sandwich from his lodgings at Whitehall to the chamber of the Duke of York, where their attendance was required by a committee on Tangier matters, the latter was called to by a lady from Lady Castlemaine's lodging and informed that the King was there, and would speak to him, leaving Pepys in a difficulty to account for my lord's non-appearance. On the 1st of the next month, the King was seen by Pepys "coming privately from my Lady Castlemaine's, which is a poor thing for a Prince to do." On the 8th, he was told by Captain Ferrers "how Lady Castlemaine, a few days since, had Mrs. Stuart"—his first mention of the hand-

* Pepys, iv. (Appendix), f. 342. The Chevalier de Gramont arrived in London on January 4. His attentions to one of the three Mlles. de la Mothe Houdancourt had provoked Louis XIV. to banish him the Court.

some Maid-of-Honour—"to an entertainment, and at night begun a frolique that they two must be married; and married they were, with ring and all other ceremonies of church service, and ribbands, and a sack posset in bed, and flinging the stocking; but in the close it is said that my Lady Castlemaine, who was the bridegroom, rose, and the King come and take her place. This is said to be very true. Another story was, how Captain Ferrers and W. Howe both have often, through my Lady Castlemaine's window, seen her go to bed, and Sir Charles Barkeley in her chamber." The story of the two ladies is confirmed on the 17th by Mr. Edward Pickering, who told Pepys that the marriage "was in order to the King's coming to Stuart, as is believed generally." "La beauté de Mademoiselle Stewart," writes Count Hamilton, "commençoit alors à faire du bruit. La Comtesse de Castelmaine s'aperçut que le Roi la regardoit. Mais au lieu de s'en alarmer, elle favorisa tant qu'elle put ce nouveau goût, soit par une imprudence ordinaire à celles qui se croient-au-dessus des autres, soit qu'elle voulût par cet amusement détourner

l'attention du Roi du commerce qu'elle avoit avec Germain," a mistake for Hamilton or Berkeley (?). "Elle ne se contentoit pas de paroître sans inquiétude sur une distinction dont toute la cour commençoit à s'apercevoir ; elle affecta d'en faire sa favorite, la mit de tous les soupers qu'elle donnoit au Roi ; et dans la confiance de ces propres charmes, poussant la témérité jusqu'au bout, elle la retenoit souvent à coucher. Le Roi, qui ne manquoit guères à venir chez la Castlemaine avant qu'elle se levât, ne manquoit guères aussi d'y trouver Mademoiselle Stewart au lit avec elle,"—the fair Stuart had succeeded to the place of the fair Hamilton. — "Les objets les plus indifférens ont des attraits dans un nouvel entêtement. Cependant, l'imprudente Castlemaine ne fut point jalouse que cette rivale parût auprès d'elle en cet état ; sûre, quand bon lui sembleroit, de triompher de tout ce que ces occasions auroient eu de plus avantageux pour la Stewart ; mais il en alla tout autrement¹." On the 23rd the "Wild Gallant" was acted at the King's Theatre be-

¹ Mémoires du Comte de Grammont, tome i. 136, 137.

fore the King, and we are told that "My Lady Castlemaine was all worth seeing to-night, and little Steward." By the former, the great poet's unfortunate performance, very fairly criticised by Pepys, was patronised; and he in gratitude, at a later period, addressed to her the following epistle, which can only, by party feeling, be termed pitiful^g. The verses are beautiful enough :—

*" To the Lady Castlemaine, upon her encouraging
his first play.*

" As seamen, shipwreck'd on some happy shore,
Discover wealth in lands unknown before ;
And, what their art had labour'd long in vain,
By their misfortunes happily obtain :
So my much-envied muse, by storms long tost,
Is thrown upon your hospitable coast,
And finds more favour by her ill success,
Than she could hope for by her happiness.
Once Cato's virtue did the gods oppose ;
While they the victor, he the vanquish'd chose :
But you have done what Cato could not do,
To choose the vanquish'd, and restore him too.

^g " Dryden, whom one wou'd have thought had more wit,
The censure of ev'ry man did disdain,
Pleading some pitiful rhimes he had writ
In praise of the Countess of Castlemaine."

(The Session of the Poets, Poems on State Affairs, 1703, i. f. 208.)

Let others still triumph, and gain their cause
By their deserts, or by the world's applause ;
Let merit crowns, and justice laurels give,
But let me happy by your pity live.
True poets empty fame and praise despise,
Fame is the trumpet, but your smile the prize.
You sit above, and see vain men below
Contend for what you only can bestow :
But those great actions others do by chance
Are, like your beauty, your inheritance :
So great a soul, such sweetness joined in one,
Could only spring from noble Grandison.
You, like the stars, not by reflection bright,
Are born to your own heaven, and your own light ;
Like them are good, but from a nobler cause,
From your own knowledge, not from nature's laws.
Your power you never use but for defence,
To guard your own, or others' innocence :
Your foes are such, as they, not you, have made,
And virtue may repel, though not invade.
Such courage did the ancient heroes shew,
Who, when they might prevent, would wait the blow :
With such assurance as they meant to say,
We will o'ercome, but scorn the safest way.
What further fear of danger can there be ?
Beauty, which captives all things, sets me free.
Posterity will judge by my success,
I had the Grecian poet's happiness,
Who, waving plots, found out a better way ;
Some god descended, and preserv'd the play.
When first the triumphs of your sex were sung
By those old poets, beauty was but young,

And few admir'd the native red and white,
Till poets dress'd them up to charm the sight ;
So beauty took on trust, and did engage
For sums of praises till she came to age.
But this long-growing debt to poetry
You justly, Madam, have discharged to me,
When your applause and favour did infuse
New life to my condemn'd and dying muse."

"This day," also says Pepys, "I was told that my Lady Castlemaine hath all the King's Christmas presents, made him by the peers, given to her, which is a most abominable thing ; and that at the great ball she was much richer in jewells than the Queene and Duchesse put both together." On March 1, at Whitehall chapel, among the fine ladies was my Lady Castlemaine, "who is above all, that only she I can observe for true beauty." Lady Gerard we have met with before. On March 7, "Creed told me how, for some words of my Lady Gerard's against my Lady Castlemaine to the Queene, the King did the other day apprehend her in going out to dance with her at a ball, when she desired it as the ladies do, and is since forbid attending the Queene by the King ; which is much talked of, my lord her

husband being a great favourite." On April 4, were, in Hyde Park, the King in one coach and Lady Castlemaine in another, "they greeting one another at every turn."

The Prince Royal of Denmark, afterwards Christian V., and the Duke of Monmouth, were installed K.G.'s at Windsor Castle on April 22, 1663, in the presence of the Court. Among the ladies attending upon her Majesty were Lady Castlemaine and Mrs. Stuart. The day following, the festival of St. George was celebrated with unusual splendour in honour of the young Duke's marriage. The attentions of the Lady Castlemaine to the boy daily increasing—her caresses having succeeded to an exhibition of jealousy provoked by his personal advantages over her own children,—according to Count Hamilton, had not a little to do with expediting the unhallowed ceremony which, four days before the feast, had given the noble and wealthy child-heiress to the, so-called, royal bastard,—a gift he so little, when a man, appreciated. The King, he says, had ceased to be jealous of her, but he desired to preserve the boy's innocence, and therefore with-

drew him from the dangerous attractions of his pretended mother-in-law to an early marriage.

Further, we learn from the Count that at this fête the Lady Castlemaine endeavoured to eclipse the fair Stuart by a load of jewels, but that, being in her third pregnancy, her face was rather thin and pale, and that moreover—this is his own opinion, and may not be the truth—her person could not compete in grace and beauty with that of the Maid-of-Honour^b.

On the 24th, the day after the feast of St. George, the whole party returned to London. "I did hear," says Pepys, writing on the 25th, "that the Queene is much grieved of late at the King's neglecting her, he not having supped with her this quarter of a year, and almost every night with my Lady Castlemaine, who hath been with him this St. George's feast at Windsor, and come home with him last; and, which is more, they say is removed as to her bed from her own home to a chamber in White Hall, next to the King's owne; which I am sorry to hear, though I love her much."

^b *Mémoires du Comte de Grammont*, tome ii. 275, 276.

On the 29th, we find Lord Sandwich at his Chelsea lodging, eating cakes made by the mistress of the house, and, it may be added, the mother of his mistress, so good that "they were fit to present to my Lady Castlemaine;" and informing Pepys that he thought he had incurred some displeasure with the Queen for his kindness to his handsome neighbour. "My Lord tells me he hath no reason to fall for her sake, whose wit, management, nor interest is not likely to hold up any man; and therefore, he thinks, it not his obligation to stand for her, against his own interest." On May 11, Pepys again hears "that my Lady Castlemaine hath now got lodgings near the King's chamber at Court;" and on the 14th, he is told that Lord Sandwich was by the King sent for "the other day to my Lady Castlemaine's to play at cards, where he lost £50." On the next day, Sir Thomas Crewe informs Pepys that he sees Lady Castlemaine "hath all the tricks of Arctin," alluding to the Scourge of Princes' infamous letters and sonnets accompanying the as infamous "Postures," engraved by Marc Antonio from the designs of Julio Romano. On

June 30, the King has got "greatly taken up with Madam Castlemaine and Mrs. Stewart," who have been twice classed together as his mistresses by Pepys. On July 3, Mr. Moore tells Pepys the "great news that my Lady Castlemaine is fallen from Court, and this morning retired;" and the next day, at the "King's Head" ordinary, a pretty gentleman confirms Mr. Moore's report, but, like Mr. Moore, can give no reason for her withdrawal. He, however, could tell the company "of one wiper the Queene a little while ago did give her, when she came in and found the Queene under the dresser's hands, and had been so long: 'I wonder your Majesty,' says she, 'can have the patience to sit so long a-dressing?'—'I have so much reason to use patience,' says the Queene, 'that I can very well bear with it.'" The French Ambassador, writing to Louis XIV. on the 5th, supplies the information which Mr. Moore and the pretty gentleman were unable to give. A great quarrel had happened between the Countess and Frances Stuart, when the King threatened the former that he would never set his foot in

her house if the young lady was not in it. "Cela fait qu'elle ne la quitte plus," we are told by the Count, "ce que tout le monde trouve fort étrange, et moi je suis de contraire avis, car il me semble qu'elle ne sera jamais plus sûre de sa conquête qu'en tenant sa rivale par à la main ; si ce n'est aux heures de son triomphe¹." The imperious lady, on the King's impertinence, called for her coach at a quarter of an hour's warning, and went to Richmond, to her uncle's again ; "and the King," writes Pepys on the 22nd, "the next morning, under pretence of going a-hunting, went to see her and made friends, and never was a-hunting at all ; after which she came back to court, and commands the King as much as ever, and hath and doth what she will." So much on the word of Captain Ferrars. She was at Court again before the 9th, and on the 13th Pepys saw her and Mrs. Stuart, and the rest of the Maids-of-Honour, on horseback, attending the King and Queen in St. James's Park, but the King, he thought, "took no notice of her ; nor when

¹ Pepys, iv. (Appendix), f. 345.

she 'light did any body press, as she seemed to expect, and staid for it, to take her down, but was taken down by her own gentleman. She looked mighty out of humour, and had a yellow plume in her hat, which all took notice of, and yet is very handsome, but very melancholy; nor did any body speak to her, or she so much as smile or speak to any body." Pepys followed the ladies up into Whitehall, admiring Mrs. Stuart and her dress, and thinking that if such a thing could be possible, the Maid of Honour, at least in such a dress, might excel the mistress. "Nor do I wonder," he says, "if the King changes, which I verily believe is the reason of his coldness to my Lady Castlemaine." On July 22, a day before mentioned, we hear further, from the same pen, of Lady Castlemaine. "Not longer ago than last night, there was a private entertainment made for the King and Queene at the Duke of Buckingham's, and she was not invited; but being at my Lady Suffolk's, her aunt's, where my Lady Jemimah and Lord Sandwich dined, yesterday, she was heard to say, 'Well, much good may it do them, and

for all that, I will be as merry as they :’ and so she went home, and caused a great supper to be prepared. And after the King had been with the Queene at Wallingford House, he came to my Lady Castlemaine’s, and was there all night, and my Lord Sandwich with him.” On the 31st, Dr. Pierce, who had lately purchased for £60 the place of Groom of the Privy Chamber to the Queen, tells Pepys that Sir Charles Barkeley hath still such power over the King, as to be able to fetch him from the council-table to my Lady Castlemaine when he pleases. The same Doctor, on the 10th of the next month, again speaking of Lady Castlemaine, “who rules the King in matters of state, and do what she list with him,” expresses his belief that she “is now falling quite out of favour.”

The Earl of Castlemaine had withdrawn from his wife’s society for more than a year, when, on September 20, her second son, Henry, was born. It was of course necessary that this event should be concealed in a cloud, and accordingly Mrs. Sarah, in the adjoining house to her Ladyship’s, was unable two days after,

or any subsequent time, to give the least information regarding its birth. The King for many years would not acknowledge the child to be his^k,—it might, perhaps he thought, as well have been appropriated to Colonel James Hamilton or to Sir Charles Berkeley; and there is nothing to deter us from supposing the future Duke of Grafton was the first of Lady Castlemaine's children carried away by her coachman under his cloak, as De la Riviere Manley informs us was the fact with no less than six of them^l. Lord Sandwich's housekeeper could only tell Pepys, on the 22nd, that the lady had gone to meet the King at Oxford, "having lain within here at home this week or two, supposed to have miscarried; but for certain is as great in favour as heretofore." The Court, on August 26, left Whitehall for Bath. According to Count Hamilton, the Lady Castlemaine, being near her time, though the fact was unknown to the public by the care which she took to conceal it, was not in

^k Anthony à Wood, *Athena Oxoniensis* (by Bliss), 1813—20; Fasti, ii. f. 270.

^l New Atalantis, 1736, ii. f. 22.

a position to accompany the Queen, and the King, having the company of the lady's fair rival, Mrs. Stuart, was not, we may suppose, with any difficulty made to bear with this loss^m. On September 22, the Court removed to Oxford, and from the city of learning returned to that of imperial revelry on October 1. In the interval between September 20 and this last date, Mrs. Manley's tale, narrated by "Mrs. Nightworkⁿ," is to be placed. The unexpected indisposition of Lady Castlemaine "in the circle"—as she terms the ring in Hyde Park—when the Court was at "one of the favourite villas in the country," (Hampton Court?), the private birth of her child during her week of waiting in her lodgings, and the Queen's unwomanly behaviour to her Lady of the Bedchamber in compelling her to mount and ride with her and her Court before the time appointed by Lucina for such exertion, may be a compound of truth and fiction; nevertheless Mrs. Manley's account of the equestrian journey a few days after the birth^o, is almost

^m *Mémoires du Comte de Grammont*, tome ii. 284.

ⁿ *New Atalantis*, ii. f. 22.

^o *Ibid.*, ii. f. 25.

identical with Pepys' account of the equestrian party in St. James's Park eleven weeks before the birth. *He* saw the Queen's hand in the King's; *she* places in it that of Mrs. Stuart. Both shew my Lady Castlemaine in an ill humour.

On October 1, the King, Queen, Duke and Duchess of York, and the whole Court, as before mentioned, returned to London, and on the very night of this day Charles supped with his mistress, as he did on the 11th and 12th. On the last-named night, "there being a chine of beef to roast, and the tide rising into their kitchen that it could not be roasted there, and the cook telling her of it, she answered, 'Zounds! she must set the house on fire but it should be roasted!' So it was carried to Mrs. Sarah's husband's, and there it was roasted." On the 20th, the King, according to Mrs. Sarah, although the Queen's life was despaired of, and although he had taken it much to heart, and had wept before her, supped again with his mistress as he had done every night since the Queen's illness, viz. on the 17th, 18th, and 19th. Pepys himself, on the 20th,

saw Mrs. Sarah's husband "coming through 'the Street' dressing up a great supper" for the King and Lady Castlemaine. The Count de Comminges refers to the 18th, and tells us the King on that day supped with the lady, and, in spite of his distress, entered into ordinary discourse with Mrs. Stuart, with whom he was very much in love^p. On November 9th, Pepys was informed by Mr. Pierce that the King has "now become besotted upon Mrs. Stewart; that he gets into corners, and will be with her half an hour together, kissing her to the observation of all the world; and she now lays by herself and expects it, as my Lady Castlemaine did use to do; to whom the King, he says, is still kind, so as now and then he goes to her, as he belieues, but with no such fondness as he used to do." The Chevalier de Gramont, who had arranged to return to France on December 14, was delayed by the King for a day, possibly, writes De Comminges to Louis XIV., that he might make him a present, or to facilitate the payment of 800 pieces, due to him from Lady Castlemaine^q.

^p Pepys, iv. (Appendix), f. 345.

^q Ibid., f. 348.

This short delay was followed by another of a longer duration. When near Dover, on his way to Dieppe, he was overtaken by James and George Hamilton, and—the sword being drawn to enforce the argument—called upon to perform a promise made to their sister, but apparently forgotten, and to become the hero of one of Molière's best comedies, "Le Mariage Forcé."

We here arrive at the time when Barbara found it convenient to proclaim the abjuration of the religion of her education. "Le mariage du Chevalier de Grammont," writes the French Ambassador to Louis XIV. on December 22, 1663, "et la conversion de Madame de Castlemaine se sont publiez le même jour: et le Roy d'Angleterre, estant tant prié par les parents de la Dame d'apporter quelque obstacle à cette action, repondit galamment que pour l'âme des Dames il ne s'en mêloit point*." And the same day Pepys writes in his journal, "I hear for certain that my Lady Castlemaine is turned Papist, which the Queene for all do not much like, thinking that she do it not for

* Biographica Gallica, i. f. 202.

* Pepys, ii. ff. 77, 78.

conscience sake." William Penn, the Quaker, carried the news from the Court to the Rev. Edward Stillingfleet; Oldmixon incorrectly says, in one of his works, when that celebrated preacher and prelate was Dean of St. Paul's, who, on receipt of it, remarked that "if the Church of Rome has got no more by her than the Church of England has lost, the matter will not be much¹." The author of the "Secret History of Charles II. and James II.," after remarking that Charles was really a Papist at heart, adds: "This the Duchess of Cleveland well knew, and therefore had been often heard to say, That she did not embrace the Catholick religion out of any esteem that she had for it, but because she could not continue the King's mistress, and consequently Miss of State²."

Pepys' first entry relating to Lady Castle-

¹ The Critical History of England, ii. f. 276. Edward Stillingfleet, S.T.P., previously Rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and Prebendary of Newington, and Archdeacon of London, was not elected Dean of St. Paul's until January 16, 1677-8. (Newcourt, 1708, i. f. 53.) Oldmixon drops the Dean when telling the same anecdote in his "History of England during the Reign of the Royal House of Stewart," ii. f. 576. He was, in 1663, Rector of Sutton, co. Bedford, only.

² f. 141.

maine, under 1664, is on January 20: "Mr. Pierce tells me, that my Lady Castlemaine is not at all set by, by the King, but that he do doat upon Mrs. Stewart only; and, that, to the leaving of all business in the world, and to the open slighting of the Queene; that he values not who sees him, or stands by him," &c. "That the King do not openly disavow my Lady Castlemaine, but that she comes to Court; but that my Lord Fitz Harding,"—late Sir Charles Berkeley,—“and the Hamiltons,”—James and George,—“and sometimes my Lord Sandwich, they say, intrigue with her. But he says my Lord Sandwich will lead her from her lodgings in the darkest and obscurest manner, and leave her at the entrance into the Queene's lodgings, that he might be the least observed." Six days on, and Tom Killigrew tells of a fire on the night of the 25th in the lady's lodging, when "she bid £40 for one to adventure the fetching of a cabinet out, which at last was got to be done; and the fire at last quenched, without doing much wrong." On February 1, Mr. Pierce tells "Pepys how the King, coming to his Theatre to see 'The In-

dian Queene,' which he commends for a very fine thing, my Lady Castlemaine was in the next box before he come; and leaning over other ladies awhile to whisper with the King, she rose out of the box and went into the King's, and set herself on the King's right hand, between the King and the Duke of York; which he swears put the King himself, as well as every body else, out of countenance; and believes that she did it only to shew the world that she is not out of favour yet, as was believed." On the 22nd of this month Pepys hears that the King "will go at midnight to my Lady Castlemaine's nurse, and take the child and dance it in his arms." On March 7 she was at the Duke's Theatre seeing the "Unfortunate Lovers," when an ordinary lady was heard to say, on being told who she was, that "she was well enough." On the 18th of the next month Pepys went, for the first time in the season, to Hyde Park, where he saw the King in his periwig, "and my Lady Castlemaine in a coach by herself, in yellow satin and a pinner on."

It is a relief sometimes to withdraw from

Pepys. "Les calèches commencent à voir le jour," says De Comminges to his King in a letter dated the 9th and 14th of May, [*o. s.*,] "et la Reine avec toute sa suite, fait souvent des promenades à cheval. Les dames"—these are the two rival beauties—"y paroissent à l'envie les unes des autres, mais cela ne produit point de jalousie. Je ne vis jamais deux rivales vivre en si bonne intelligence; ce n'est pas que l'on les ménage beaucoup, et que l'on prenne grand soin de cacher ces larcins, mais c'est l'humeur du pays, qui n'a de sensible jalousie que contre la France^{*}." These remarks of the Ambassador, and his allusion to the calashes, may well introduce the following piece of intelligence from the "Mémoires du Comte de Grammont," having reference, there can not be a doubt, to the year we are writing upon.

The Chevalier de Gramont, in return for the distinguished attention which he had received from King Charles, presented him with the most elegant and magnificent calash that had ever been seen, the work of Parisian hands. The Lady Castlemaine, after it had

* Pepys (Appendix), iv. f. 349.

been honoured by the presence of the Queen and Duchess of York, thinking that it set off a fine figure to great advantage, desired the King to lend it her for the first fine day for an exhibition in Hyde Park, but the same request unluckily was made to him at the same time by Mrs. Stuart. The friends had ceased to love each other, whilst the King was in love with both. He was therefore placed in an awkward predicament. The Lady Castlemaine was in an interesting condition; but although her disappointment might, as she said, be attended by untoward circumstances, the maid triumphed—Count Hamilton must be left to tell by what means—over the matron. The Queen-mother rejoiced in their difference, and rallied the Chevalier on his throwing such a bone of contention between them⁷.

On July 10, Lady Sandwich, at her new residence in Lincoln's Inn Fields, shewed Mr. and Mrs. Pepys "my Lady Castlemaine's picture, finely done, given my Lord; and a most beautiful picture it is." Mr. Pepys does not say from whom the present came. It is

⁷ *Mémoires du Comte de Grammont*, tome ii. 44—46.

a full-length by Lely, who made it and several other copies, full and three-quarter lengths, from that "most blessed picture" mentioned on October 20, 1662, and which may now be seen in the gallery at Hinchinbroke. On the 20th of this month, Lady Castlemaine attended the drawing of Sir Arthur Slingsby's lottery at Whitehall, graced by the presence of the two Queens and the Duchess of York; and on the 17th of the next, Pepys learns from Mr. Pierce that the King still supped every night with the lady; who, on the 5th of September,—it would seem again in private, as Pepys makes no allusion to the event,—gave birth to a daughter, baptized by the name of Charlotte—her fourth child. A further support to Mrs. Manley's tale may be found in Mr. Pierce's remark to Pepys, a fortnight afterwards, on the services rendered by Dr. Frazer to Lady Castlemaine and other ladies.

Lady Castlemaine, on the evening of September 22, when returning home through St. James's Park from a visit to the Duchess of York at St. James's Palace, and accompanied only by a maid and a little page, was met by

three gentlemen, as by their dress they appeared to be, in masks; "qui luy firent"—we employ the words of De Comminges—"la plus forte et rude répremande que l'on puisse imaginer, jusques à luy dire que la Maitresse d'Eduoard IV. s'étoit morte sur un fuimer méprisée et abandonnée de tout le monde!" So soon as she reached her chamber she swooned. The King on this ran to her succour, and on being informed of the event, ordered the gates of the park to be shut, and the arrest of all who could be found in it. Seven or eight persons met with were seized, confronted, and discharged*.

We now again commence a new year. On February 2 (Candlemas Day) there was a masquerade at Whitehall*, at which amongst the six women who, in "most rich and antique dresses, did dance admirably and most gloriously," were Lady Castlemaine and the Duchess of Monmouth. On the 21st Lady Sandwich informed Pepys "how my Lord Castlemaine is coming over from France,"—as in truth he did before March 13, when

* Pepys (Appendix), iv. f. 350.

* The date of Pepys' "other day" is supplied by Evelyn.

Pepys saw him at St. James's,—“and it is believed will soon be made friends with his Lady again.” She touched also on the frolic of Frances Jenyns and Goditha Price^b, a Maid and an ex-Maid-of-Honour to the Duchess of York, “the other day,” told so amusingly by Count Hamilton^c; upon whose authority we have the fact that on the death of Robert Dongan, which occurred before the date of this adventure, the last-named lady was dismissed from her place, and had recourse to Lady Castlemaine’s protection^d,—insufficient, as it turned out, to preserve her from becoming a mistress to the Duchess’s husband, if she is

^b This lady died unmarried, and was buried, September 7, 1678, at St. Margaret’s, Westminster. She has been confounded with her sister Henrietta Maria, the second wife of Alexander Stanhope, Esq., of the Inner Temple (admitted October 29, 1655), a younger son of Sir John Stanhope, Knight, of Elvaston, co. Derby, who was, we may believe, the Mrs. Stanhope buried in Westminster Abbey October 23, 1674. For the last-named lady, Lord Rochester, in 1665 or 1666, composed some lines to accompany a pair of Italian gloves which she sent to the Earl of Chesterfield, beginning—

“These are the gloves that I did mention

 Last night, and ’twas with the intention.”

(Letters of Philip, second Earl of Chesterfield, ff. 136, 137). This note should be compared with one in f. 62 of our “Althorp Memoirs.”

^c *Mémoires du Comte de Grammont*, tome ii. 215—224.

^d *Ibid.*, 158, 203.

the Mrs. Price mentioned by Pepys on June 10, 1666. Further, her Ladyship, in speaking of the tricks of the Maids-of-Honour at Court, records a merry saying of Lady Castlemaine's in allusion to the same subject, — "that her daughter, not above a year old or two, will be the first mayd in the Court that will be married."

On March 19, Pepys accompanied Mr. Thomas Povy in his coach to Hyde Park, it being the first day of the tour there, "where many brave ladies; among others, Castlemaine lay impudently upon her back in her coach asleep," — in this manner exhibiting her fine figure to great advantage, — "with her mouth open!" and there also was her early friend and bed-fellow, Lady Anne Hamilton, now become Lady Carnegie. On the 31st of the same month, only a few days later, "my Lady Castlemaine is sick again," — it matters not what the people thought on learning the state she was in. On April 3, we find Lady Castlemaine and the King at the Duke's Theatre seeing "Mustapher," and among the audience "pretty, witty Nell at the King's Theatre." On June 2,

Pepys, being "led up to my Lady Castlemaine's lodgings, where the King and she and others were at supper," read an express from Sir William Batten at Harwich, reporting that the fleet had sailed for Solebay.

The year we are writing of was that of the great plague in London, and therefore for the rest of it Pepys has no mention of his favourite lady. The Court left Whitehall on June 29 for Hampton Court, and with the royal party of course went Lady Castlemaine and Mrs. Stuart. From Hampton Court, on July 27, it removed to Salisbury, from whence, on September 25, the King arrived at Oxford, and took up his residence at Christ Church. On the following day the Queen came there, and found quarters prepared for her at Merton College. At this last-named place, on December 28, the lady of the Queen's bedchamber presented the King with a fourth, or fifth, child, the future Duke of Northumberland, named, we may suppose, after her cousin, the Duke of Buckingham. This boy, for more than the usual reasons, must have been born in privacy, but his existence was soon known in London.

On January 9, we learn from Pepys, "that every boy in the street openly cries, 'The King cannot go away till my Lady Castlemaine be ready to come along with him,' she being lately put to bed." Our authority has moreover heard that the King "visits her and Mrs. Stewart every morning before he eats his breakfast." On January 27, the King left Oxford for Whitehall, and on February 16th the Queen, who had been delayed by a miscarriage, followed him with all her ladies.

On April 21, in Hyde Park, the first day Pepys had been there this year, our diarist saw the King and Lady Castlemaine. She was in mourning for the Queen's mother, with her hair plain and without spots, and on this account, he says, "I find her a much more ordinary woman than ever I durst have thought she was ; and, indeed, is not so pretty as Mrs. Stewart." On June 10, Mr. Pierce, speaking of the intimacy between the Duke of York and Lady Denham—the successor to an intended one between the King and the lady, which had called for Lady Castlemaine's interference*—

* *Mémoires du Comte de Grammont*, tome ii. 80, 81.

brought about, as he said, by Mr. Brouncker^f and Lady Castlemaine, the latter with a design to ingratiate herself with the Duke, "there being a falling out the other day between the King and her: on this occasion, the Queene, in ordinary talk before the ladies in her drawing-room, did say to my Lady Castlemaine that she feared the King did take cold by staying so late abroad at her house. She answered, before them all, that he did not stay so late abroad with her, for he went betimes thence, though he do not before one, two, or three in the morning, but must stay somewhere else. The King then coming in, and overhearing, did whisper in the eare aside, and told her she was a bold, impertinent woman, and bid her begone out of the Court, and not come again till he sent for her; which she did presently, and went to a lodging in the Pell Mell, and kept there two or three days, and then sent to the King to know whether she might send for her things away out of her house. The King sent to her, she must first come and view them, and so she come, and the King

^f Hon. Henry Brouncker, a Groom of the Duke's Bedchamber.

went to her, and all friends again. He tells me she did, in her anger, say she would be even with the King, and print his letters to her." We hear no more of the lady from Pepys until September 26, when he saw her in the dining-room at Whitehall in company of the Duke of York and Lady Denham, and was informed by his wife that she had "bought a gown of 15s. per yard; the same, before her face, my Lady Castlemaine this day bought also." On October 3, Pepys went to Whitehall, and saw there, among the ladies, my Lady Castlemaine and Mrs. Stewart looking ill, "in this plain natural dress." He was consequently "not pleased with either of them." On the 15th, Mr. Pierce tells Pepys that Lady Castlemaine is concluded to be with child again; and on the 21st, Sir Hugh Cholmeley informs him that "young Harry Killigrew is banished the Court lately for saying that my Lady Castlemaine was a little wanton when she was young. This she complained to the King of; and he sent to the Duke of York, whose servant he is^g, to turn him away. The Duke of York hath

^g He was a Groom of the Duke's Bedchamber.

done it, but takes it ill of my Lady that he was not complained to first. She attended him to excuse it, but ill blood is made of it." On the 29th she was, with the King and Queen, Duke and Duchess, and all the great ladies of the Court, at "the new playhouse" at Whitehall, seeing "Love in a Tub." On the 15th of the next month, the Queen's birthday, she was at the ball at Whitehall, "very rich, though not dancing." On December 12, Sir Hugh Cholmeley told Pepys "how the King hath lately paid above £30,000 to clear debts of my Lady Castlemaine's; and that she and her husband are parted for ever, upon good terms, never to trouble one another more;" and he hears at dinner with Captain Cocke that "the King do follow Mrs. Stewart wholly, and my Lady Castlemaine not above once a-week."

On January 27, 1667, Pepys shewed his cousin, Roger Pepys, the Lady Castlemaine at Whitehall, "whom he approves to be very handsome, and wonders that she cannot be as good within as she is fair without;" and on the 5th of the following month, at the King's

Theatre, Pepys saw her and the beautiful Mrs. Myddelton; the play, the Duke of Buckingham's "Chances."

Not long after this Mrs. Stuart removed herself from Court, and rid Lady Castlemaine of her unwelcome presence. Before March 19, she was betrothed to Charles Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox, K.G.^b, and before April 3 she was married to him, and withdrawn into the country¹. There is in the "*Mémoires du Comte de Grammont*" a very amusing account of an adventure, in which Mrs. Stuart, the Duke, the King, and Lady Castlemaine have a place. The King, troubled to account to himself for the continued coldness of the young lady towards him, at length—so runs the tale—was awakened to the true cause by his mistress, who found an opportunity of incensing him against his charmer and the object of her dislike in the following manner. One day, ascertaining how the young lady was engaged, she went directly into the King's cabinet, when he had just entered it, after a visit to her, in a very ill humour, which the unexpected presence of

^b Pepys.

¹ Ibid.

the intruder somewhat added to. "Elle s'en aperçut," are the words of Count Hamilton; "et l'abordant, d'un ton ironique, et d'un sourire d'indignation : 'J'espère,' dit-elle, 'qu'il m'est permis de venir vous rendre mes hommages, quoique la divine Stewart vous ait défendu de me voir chez moi. Je ne veux point vous en faire des reproches, qui seroient trop indignes de moi. Je viens encore moins excuser des foiblesses que rien ne peut justifier, puisque votre constance pour moi ne me laisse rien à dire, et que je suis la seule que vous ayez honorée de votre tendresse, et qui s'en soit rendue indigne par sa conduite. Je viens donc ici vous consoler dans l'abattement où vous ont mis les froideurs, ou la nouvelle chasteté de l'inhumaine Stewart.' A ces mots un éclat de rire, aussi peu naturel qu'il étoit insultant, et démesuré, mit le comble à son impatience. Il s'étoit bien attendu que quelque mauvaise raillerie suivroit ce préambule; mais il ne crut pas qu'elle dût prendre de ces airs bruyans, vû les termes où ils en étoient, et comme il se préparoit à lui répondre. 'Non,' dit-elle, 'ne me sachez point mauvais gré de la liberté

que je prens de me moquer un peu de la grossièreté dont on vous en impose. Je ne puis souffrir, qu'une affection si marquée vous rende la fable de votre cour, tandis qu'on se moque impunément de vous. Je sais que la précieuse Stewart vous renvoye, sous prétexte de quelque incommodité, peut-être de quelque scrupule de conscience ; et je viens vous avertir que le Duc de Richmond sera bien-tôt avec elle, s'il n'y est déjà. Ne m'en croyez pas, puisque ce pourroit être le ressentiment, ou l'envie qui me le feroient dire. Suivez-moi jusqu'à son appartement, afin que vous n'ajoutiez plus de confiance à la calomnie, et que vous l'honoriez d'une préférence éternelle, si je l'accuse à faux ; ou que vous ne soyez plus la dupe d'une fausse prude, qui vous fait faire une personnage si ridicule.'

" En achevant ce discours, elle le prit par la main, comme il étoit encore tout irrésolu, et l'entraîna vers le logement de sa rivale. Chiffinch étoit dans ses intérêts : ainsi la Stewart n'avoit garde d'être avertie de la visite, et Babiani, dont Madame de Cléveland [Castlemaine] avoit fait la fortune, et qui la

servoit à merveille dans cette occasion, lui vint dire que le Duc de Richmond venoit d'entrer chez la Stewart. C'étoit au milieu d'une petite galerie, qui conduisoit par un dégagement du cabinet du Roi à ceux de ses maîtresses. La Cléveland [Castlemaine] lui donna le bon soir, comme il entroit chez sa rivale, et se retira pour attendre l'issue de cette aventure. Babi-ani, qui suivoit le Roi, fut chargé de lui en venir rendre compte^k."

The sequel of this adventure relates only to those whose histories we are not engaged upon. Let us, with the remark that Lady Castlemaine succeeded in making the King for a time unhappy, return therefore to Pepys again. On April 26, Evelyn told Pepys "that now the Countesse Castlemaine do carry all before her : and among other arguments to prove Mrs. Stewart to have been honest to the last, he says that the King's keeping in still with my Lady Castlemaine do shew it; for he never was known to keep two mistresses in his life, and would never have kept to her had he

^k Mémoires du Comte de Grammont, tome ii. 303—305.

prevailed anything with Mrs. Stewart." On May 21, Pepys saw Lady Castlemaine's coach before the door of the Duke's Theatre, the play within being "The Siege of Rhodes." We now come again to Mr. Povy. On June 23, this gentleman "tells me," says Pepys, "speaking of the horrid effeminacy of the King, that the King hath taken ten times more care and pains in making friends between my Lady Castlemaine and Mrs. Stewart, when they have fallen out, than ever he did to save his kingdom; nay, that upon any falling out between my Lady Castlemaine's nurse and her woman, my Lady hath often said she would make the King to make them friends, and they would be friends and be quiet; which the King hath been fain to do: that the King is, at this day, every night in Hyde Park with the Duchesse of Monmouth, or with my Lady Castlemaine." On June 13, the King and Lady Castlemaine supped at the Duchess of Monmouth's, "and there were all mad in hunting a poor moth." On July 7, we have an anecdote of the lady. Mr. Moore, speaking of the great increase in the Privy-purse, told Pepys "that a goldsmith

in town told him that, being with some plate with my Lady Castlemaine lately, she directed her woman (the great beauty), 'Wilson,' says she, 'make a note of this, and for that, to the Privy-purse for money.'" On the 12th, Sir Hugh Cholmeley informs Pepys that the Duke of Buckingham's imprisonment in the Tower was like to continue, "though my Lady Castlemaine hath so far solicited for him that the King and she are quite fallen out; he comes not to her, nor hath for some three or four days; and parted with very foul words, the King calling her a jade that meddled with things she had nothing to do with at all, and she calling him fool; and told him if he was not a fool, he would not suffer his businesses to be carried on by fools that did not understand them, and cause his best subjects, and those best able to serve him, to be imprisoned, meaning the Duke of Buckingham. And it seems she was not only for his liberty," continues Pepys, "but to be restored to all his places; which, it is thought, he will never be." Before five days had run out, the lady had overcome the King, and her cousin was

again at liberty. On the 27th, Mr. Fenn reports to Pepys "that the King and my Lady Castlemaine are quite broke off, and she is gone away, and is with child, and swears the King shall own it; and she will have it christened in the Chapel at White Hall so, and owned for the King's, as other Kings have done; or she will bring it into White Hall gallery, and dash the brains of it out before the King's face." On the 29th, we hear that "my Lady Castlemaine hath, before the late breach between her and the King, said to the King that he must rule by an army, or all would be lost." On the same day, Pepys, looking out of a window at Whitehall into the Privy garden, saw there the King, with two or three idle lords; and instantly after him, in another walk, my Lady Castlemaine, led by Bab. May: "at which," he says, "I was surprised, having but newly heard the stories of the King and her being parted for ever. So I took Mr. Povy, who was there, aside, and he told me all,—how imperious this woman is, and hectors the King to whatever she will. It seems she is with child, and the King says

he did not get it : with that she made a slighting puh with her mouth, and went out of the house, and never came in again till the King went to Sir Daniel Harvey's to pray her ; and so she is come to-day, when one would think his mind should be full of some other cares, having this morning broken up such a Parliament, with so much discontent, and so many wants upon him, and but yesterday heard such a sermon against adultery. But it seems she hath told the King, that whoever did get it, he should own it ; and the bottom of the quarrel is this :—She is fallen in love with young Jermin, who hath of late been with her oftener than the King, and is now going to marry my Lady Falmouth ; the King is mad at her entertaining Jermin, and she is mad at Jermin's going to marry from her : so they are all mad ; and thus the kingdom is governed !” We have not yet done with the child that was born only to die. On the 30th, Mr. Cooling is able, though primed with drink, to tell Pepys that Lady Castlemaine, on the King's declaring to her that he was not the father of the infant she was conceived of, made answer, “ G—d d—n

me! but you shall own it;" and further, "It seems, he is jealous of Jermin, and she loves him so, that the thoughts of his marrying of my Lady Falmouth puts her into fits of the mother; and he, it seems, hath been in her good graces from time to time, continually, for a good while; and once, as this Cooling says, the King had like to have taken him a-bed with her, but that he was fain to creep under the bed into her closet." On August 7, Mr. Pierce informed Pepys, "that though the King and my Lady Castlemaine are friends again, she is not at Whitehall, but at Sir D. Harvy's, whither the King goes to her; and he says she made him ask her forgiveness upon his knees, and promise to offend her no more so: and that indeed she did threaten to bring all his bastards to his closet-door, and hath nearly hector'd him out of his wits." The next day Evelyn tells Pepys that "the King goes two days a-week to see my Lady Castlemaine at Sir D. Harvy's."

The residence of Sir Daniel Harvey was, we believe, in Covent Garden, and his wife—the "very witty and intriguing wench" of

James II.¹—the sister of Ralph Montague, hereafter to be spoken of in this Memoir. The Lady Castlemaine's intrigue with Harry Jermyn—Count Hamilton's little man with a large head and small legs^m, the Lord Dover of King James's reign—is alluded to by Andrew Marvell in his "Last Instructions to a Painter about the Dutch War, 1667," and to this one he does not confine his pen :—

"Paint Castlemaine in Colours that will hold
Her, not her Picture, for she now grows old.
She thro' her lackey's drawers as he ran,
Discern'd love's cause, and a new flame began :
Her wonted joys henceforth, and court she shuns,
And still within her mind the footman runs.
His brazen calves, his brawny thighs, (the face
She slights,) his feet shap'd for a smoother race.
Poring with her glass, she re-adjusts
Her locks, and oft-tri'd beauty now distrusts ;
Fears lest he scorn'd a woman once assay'd,
And now first wisht she e'er had been a maid.
Great Love ! how dost thou triumph, and how reign,
That to a groom could'st humble her disdain !
Stript to her skin, see how she stooping stands,
Nor scorns to rub him down with those fair hands,

¹ Macpherson's Original Papers, 1776, i. f. 49.

^m Mémoires du Comte de Grammont, tome i. 121.

And washing (lest the scent her crime disclose)
 His sweaty hoofs, tickles him betwixt the toes.
 But envious fame too soon began to note
 More gold in 's fob, more lace upon his coat ;
 And he unwary, and of tongue too fleet,
 No longer could conceal his fortune sweet.
 Justly the rogue was whipt in Porter's Den,
 And Jermin straight has leave to come again.
 Ah Painter ! now could Alexander live,
 And this Campaspe the Apelles give."

On September 11, Pepys is informed by Mr. Moore "that my Lord Chancellor did lately make some stop of some grants of £2,000 a-year to my Lord Grandison, which was only in his own name, for the use of my Lady Castle-maine's children"; and that this did incense her, and she did speak very scornful words, and sent a scornful message to him about it."

In the "New Atalantis,"—that mixture of truth and fiction,—the Duchess of Marlborough's "strange book^o,"—the amour between the Countess and Jermyn is made famous by a

^a In May this year a grant was passed to George, Viscount Grandison, Edward Villiers, and Baptist May, Esqrs., and their assignees, for ninety-nine years, of the yearly sum of £1,000, out of the profits of the Post Office. Signet Book, vol. xvi. f. 102, Public Record Office.

^o Coxe MSS. Brit. Mus., xlv. f. 201.

very circumstantial account of it; but although the history proceeds from the pen of a fair lady, it will not, in these particular days, admit of republication. Mrs. Manley, who, we may remark, gives a more flattering description of "Germanicus'" person than Count Hamilton, places it years too late; and makes another lover, in 1667 only seventeen years old, not only come before him, and years too soon, but to be the means of introducing "the invincible Jermyn" to the lady's arms, with the purpose that he might release himself from a mistress before he took to himself a wife^p. The Lady Falmouth did not deprive the Lady Castlemaine of a lover. It is not quite so certain that the hero of the Porter's Lodge did not deprive the lover of a mistress as he had deprived his sovereign of one.

The Lord Chancellor Clarendon, on Monday, August 26, was required to resign the seals. The King had long looked upon him as a boy looks upon his schoolmaster, and for the same reasons Lady Castlemaine had as long regarded him with evil feelings. By her influence, when

^p i. ff. 30—40.

she possessed more of this quality than now, she had caused the removal of his faithful friend, Sir Edward Nicholas, from his office of principal Secretary of State^q; and she had lately—five years afterwards—threatened to deprive the Chancellor of that which he himself held. She sent him word, on his refusing to seal a grant from the King to one of her nominees, with the remark “that he thought this woman would sell every thing shortly,” “that she had disposed of this place, and did not doubt, in a little time, to dispose of his.” In the Queen’s chamber, in the presence of much company, she had not scrupled to declare “that she hoped to see his head upon a stake, to keep company with those of the Regicides on Westminster Hall^r.” Her enmity to the Chancellor was of early date. In 1661, she took exception to him on account of his objection to his wife’s visiting her, and joined the Earl of Bristol in his attempt to ruin him^s. Sir John Bramston mentions

^q Hume’s England, 1841, v. f. 499.
James, Duke of Ormonde, ii. f. 276.

^r Carte’s History of
^s Macpherson, i. f. 20.

her influence in driving Clarendon from power[†]. Lord Clarendon had been instrumental in leading Mrs. Stuart into an advantageous marriage, and thus the King's object in seeking a divorce from his blameless Queen was by him removed, and the succession to the throne secured to his grandchildren. In more ways than one, therefore, the King was incensed, and he wanted little urging on the part of his mistress, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Arlington (Sir Henry Bennet that was), Sir William Coventry, and others of "her faction," to abandon his faithful and able adviser. The day following, Mr. Pierce came to Mr. Pepys, and told him "how this business of my Lord Chancellor's was certainly designed in my Lady Castlemaine's chamber; and that, when he went from the King on Monday morning, she was in bed, though about twelve o'clock, and ran out in her smock into her aviary looking into White Hall garden"; and thither her woman brought her her nightgown; and stood blessing herself at the old man's going away: and several of the gallants of White Hall, of which there

[†] Autobiography, f. 256.

[‡] The Privy-garden.

were many staying to see the Chancellor's return, did talk to her in her bird-cage ; among others, Blancford *, telling her she was the bird of passage." Only the day before the great lord's fall, viz. on the 31st, Pepys, walking up and down Bartholomew fair, found Lady Castlemaine at a puppet-play, "' Patient Grizill,' and the street full of people expecting her coming out. I confess," said he, " I did wonder at her courage to come abroad, thinking the people would abuse her : but they, silly people ! do not know the work she makes, and therefore suffered her with great respect to take coach, and she away, without any trouble at all." We have now arrived at September. On the 1st, Sir Hugh Cholmeley tells Pepys " that my Lady Castlemaine is coming to a composition with the King to be gone." On the 2nd, Sir William Coventry, at St. James's, on leaving the Duke of York's service, and on being told by Pepys that the world accounted him of Lady Castlemaine's faction, denied that he had ever had any conversation with her on the Lord

* Louis de Duras, Marquis de Blancfort, in command of the Duke of York's troop of Guards ; afterwards Earl of Feversham and K. G.

Chancellor's business, or any other public business, "or ever made her a visit, or at least not this twelvemonth, or been in her lodgings but when called on any business to attend the King there, nor hath anything to do in knowing her mind in this business." That political meetings were held in her house, we have the testimony of the author who describes himself as of the King's Privy Council⁷.

On the 5th, Sir William Batten tells Pepys, on the authority of Mr. Gray, "who hath good intelligence, that our Queene is to go into a nunnery, there to spend her days; and that my Lady Castlemaine is going into France, and is to have a pension of £4,000 a-year. This latter," Pepys continues, "I do more believe than the other, it being very wise of her to do it, and save all she hath, besides easing the King and kingdom of a burthen and reproach." On the 8th, Lord Brouncker informs Pepys of his belief that my Lady Castlemaine is compounding with the King for a pension, and to leave the Court; but that her demands are mighty high: but he

⁷ History of the Court and Reign of Charles the Second, ii. f. 126.

believes the King is resolved, and so do every body else I speak with, to do all possible to please the Parliament." On the 10th, Pepys hears Mr. Povy's belief that "there is no such thing likely to be as a composition with my Lady Castlemaine, and that she shall be got out of the way before Parliament comes; for he says she is as high as ever she was, though he believes the King is as weary of her as is possible, and would give anything to remove her, but he is so weak in his passion that he cannot do it."

On October 13, Henry Glenham, D.D., Dean of Bristol, and great uncle of Lady Castlemaine—being son of Sir Henry Glenham, Knight, of Glenham, co. Suffolk, and brother of Anne, wife of Paul, Viscount Baynham, whose daughter Mary was her mother,—was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph. Pepys, in the preceding July, hears that this divine, of whom he gives a most unfavourable character, much to his astonishment challenged, against Dr. Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle, the bishopric of Lincoln, then also vacant; and what astonished him more was the intelligence he received, that

the Dean was to be "made a bishop" by his great niece, "which things so scandalous to consider, that no man can doubt but he must be undone that hears them."

On Christmas Eve, in the Queen's chapel, St. James's, Pepys, who waited there from 9 p.m. to 2 a.m., saw her Majesty at her devotions, with some ladies. Among them my Lady Castlemaine, "who looked prettily in her night clothes."

Before January 11, 1667-8, Moll Davis, of the Duke's Theatre, had become the King's mistress, and in possession of a richly-furnished house in Suffolk-street, as well as a ring valued at £600 or £700. The King had also sent several times for Nell Gwyn,—at one time befriended by Lady Castlemaine¹,—and she had been with him. According to Bishop Burnet, he had been induced to seek the acquaintance of these two women by the Duke of Buckingham, whose sole object was to revenge himself upon Lady Castlemaine for opposing his desire to lead Charles into a divorce from Catherine². He had been seen by

¹ Pepys, August 26, 1667.

² History of his Own Times, i. f. 483.

Mrs. Pierce this month at the Duke's Theatre, gazing on the most impertinent slut in the world, as Mrs. Pierce terms Moll Davis, with my Lady Castlemaine sitting by him "melancholy and out of humour all the play, not smiling once." My Lady Castlemaine was not slow in resenting these infidelities on the part of the King, although she had, as we have shewn in more than one instance, set him the example. "Finding that she had lost the King," says Bishop Burnet, still describing the year 1668, "she abandoned herself to great disorders, one of which, by the artifice of the Duke of Buckingham, was discovered by the King in person, the party concerned leaping out of the window^b;" and it was from the boards of the stage that she also looked for the means of being "even with him" as he had been with her. Charles Hart, the handsome and very celebrated tragic actor,—a great nephew, besides, of Shakespeare, and once a lieutenant in Prince Rupert's regiment,—had been superseded in Nelly's affections by Lord Buckhurst, and my Lord was now about to

^b History of his Own Times, i. f. 484.

resign her, it is said for an equivalent, to the King. On February 4, 1667-8, Evelyn "saw the tragedy of 'Horace' (written by the *vertuous* Mrs. Phillips) acted before their Ma^{ties}. 'Twixt each act a Masq and antiq daunce. The excessive gallantry of the Ladies was infinite, those especially on that . . . Castlemaine, esteem'd at £40,000 and more, far outshining y^e Queene." On the King taking up with the two actresses, the lady took up with the actor. Hear what Pepys has to report on this subject on April 8: "Mrs. Knipp tells me that my Lady Castlemaine is mightily in love with Hart, of their house; and he is much with her in private, and she goes to him, and do give him many presents; and that the thing is most certain, and Beck Marshall only privy to it, and the means of bringing them together, which is a very odd thing; and by this means she is even with the King's love to Mrs. Davis."

Going back with Pepys for a few months, we learn from him, on January 17, the day after the fatal duel between the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Shrewsbury, "that my Lady Castlemaine do rule all at this time as

much as ever she did, and she will, it is believed, keep all matters well with the Duke of Buckingham ;" and on February 14, he says, " I was told to-night that my Lady Castlemaine is so great a gamester as to have won £15,000 in one night, and lost £25,000 in another night, at play, and hath played £1,000 and £1,500 at a cast."

The apprentices of London, on March 24, time of Easter holydays, commenced, being moved by religious zeal, to pull down the brothels in the city, and in spite of the guards and militia, commanded by the Earl of Craven, succeeded in destroying a great many of them. The soldiers were in arms throughout the 24th and 25th ; some blood was spilt, and in the end eight of the ringleaders were condemned to die. The brothels were the great grievances of the nation, according to these lads, who thought they had only done ill in not pulling down, in place of the little ones, the great one at Whitehall. Evelyn, on April 2, remarks : " Amongst other libertine libels, there was one now printed, and thrown about, a bold petition of the poore whores to Lady Castle-

maine^c;" and Pepys, four days later: "I do hear that my Lady Castlemaine is horribly vexed at the late libell, the petition of the poor prostitutes about the town, whose houses were pulled down the other day. I have got one of them, and it is not very witty, but devilish severe against her and the King: and I wonder how it durst be printed and spread abroad, which shews that the times are loose, and come to a great disregard of the King, or Court, or Government."

The "libertine libel" is thus worded:—

THE POOR-WHORES PETITION.

TO THE MOST SPLENDID, ILLUSTRIOUS, SERENE, AND EMINENT
LADY OF PLEASURE, THE COUNTESS OF CASTLEMAYNE, &c.

*The Humble Petition of the Undone Company of poore
distressed Whores, Bawds, Pimps, and Panders, etc.*

"*Humbly sheweth,*—

"That Your Petitioners having been for a long time connived at, and countenanced in the practice of our Venereal pleasures (a Trade wherein your Ladyship hath great Experience, and for your diligence therein, have arrived to high and Eminent Advancement for these late years), But now, We,

^c Memoirs, 1827, ii. f. 301.

through the Rage and Malice of a Company of *London-Apprentices*, and other malicious and very bad persons, being mechanick, rude and ill-bred Boys, have sustained the loss of our Habitations, Trades, and Employments; And many of us, that have had foul play in the Court and Sports of *Venus*, being full of Ulcers, but were in a hopeful way of Recovery, have our Cures retarded through this Barbarous and un-*Venus*-like Usage, and all of us exposed to very hard shifts, being made incapable of giving that Entertainment, as the Honour and Dignity of such persons as frequented our Houses doth call for, as your Ladyship by your own practice hath experimented the knowledge of.

"We therefore being moved by the imminent danger now impending, and the great sense of our present suffering, do implore your Honour to improve your Interest, which (all know) is great, That some speedy Relief may be afforded us, to prevent Our Utter Ruine and Undoing. And that such a sure course may be taken with the Ringleaders and Abettors of these evil-disposed persons, that a stop may be put unto them before they come to your Honours Pallace, and bring contempt upon your worshipping of *Venus*, the great Goddess whom we all adore.

"Wherefore, in our Devotion (your Honour being eminently concerned with us) We humbly judge it meet, that you procure the *French, Irish, and English Hectors*, being our approved Friends, to be our

Guard, Aid, and Protectors, and to free us from these ill home-bread slaves, that threaten your destruction as well as ours; that so your Ladyship may escape our present Calamity, Else we know not how soon it may be your Honours Own Case: for should your Eminency but once fall into these Rough hands, you may expect no more Favour then they have shewn unto us poor Inferiour Whores.

"Will your Eminency therefore be pleased to consider how highly it concerns You to restore us to our former practice with Honour, Freedom and Safety; For which we shall oblige our selves by as many Oaths as you please, To Contribute to *Your Ladyship* (as our Sisters do at *Rome & Venice* to his *Holiness the Pope*) that we may have your *Protection* in the Exercise of all our Venereal pleasures. And we shall endeavour, as our bounden duty, the promoting of your Great Name, and the preservation of your Honour, Safety and Interest, with the hazzard of our Lives, Fortunes, and HONESTY.

"And your Petitioners shall (as by custom bound) Evermore Play, &c.

"Signed by Us, *Madam Cresswell*^d and *Damaris Page*^e, in the behalf of our Sisters

^d A notice of her is in Granger's "Biographical Dictionary," 1824, vi. f. 19. Her portrait, engraved by Tempest after Lauron, one of a set of "London Cries," was published in the time of Charles II.

^e "The great bawd of the seamen." Her house was pulled down. (Pepys, March 25, 1668.)

and Fellow-Sufferers (in this day of our Calamity) in *Dog and Bitch Yard, Luke-ners Lane, Saffron-Hill, Moor-fields, Chiswell-street, Rosemary-Lane, Nightingale-Lane, Ratcliffe-High-way, Well-close, Church-Lane, East-Smithfield, &c.*, this present 25th day of *March*, 1668."

A very few days after these remarks appeared "the Gracious ANSWER of the most Illustrious *Lady of Pleasure, the Countess of Castlem* To the Poor-Whores Petition :"—

"Right Trusty and Well-beloved Madam *Cresswell* and *Damaris Page*, with the rest of the suffering Sisterhood in *Dog and Bitch Yard, Luke-ners Lane, Saffron-Hill, Moor-fields, Ratcliffe-Highway, &c.*, We greet you well, in giving you to understand our Noble Mind, by returning our Thanks, which you are worthy of, in rendring us our Titles of Honour, which are but our Due. For on *Shrove-Tuesday* last¹, Splendidly did we appear upon the Theatre at W. H. being to amazement wonderfully deck'd with Jewels and Diamonds, which the (abhorred and to be undone) Subjects of this Kingdom have payed for. We have been also Serene and Illustrious ever since the Day that *Mars* was so instrumental to restore our Goddess *Venus* to her Temple and Worship; where, by special Grant we

¹ February 4.

quickly became a Famous Lady : And as a Reward of our Devotion, soon created Right Honourable, the Countess of *Castlemain*. And as a further addition to our Illustrious Serenity, according to the ancient Rules and laudable Customs of our Order, we have *cum privilegio* alwayes (without our Husband) satisfied our self with the Delights of *Venus* ; and in our Husbands absence have had a Numerous Off-spring (who are Bountifully and Nobly provided for). Which Practice hath Episcopal Allowance also, according to the principles of Seer *Shelden*, &c. *If Women have not Children by their own Husbands, they are bound (to prevent their Damnation) to try by using the means with other men* : Which wholesome and pleasing Doctrine did for some time hold me fast to his Religion But since this Seer hath shewn more Cowardize, than Principles or Policy, in fearing to declare the Church of *Rome* to be the True, Ancient, Uniform, Universal and most Holy Mother Church ; Therefore we tell you (with all the Sisterhood) That we are now no longer of the Church of *England*, which is but like a Brazen Bason tied to a Barbers wooden Pole, (viz.) Protestant Doctrine and Order tied by Parliamentary Power to Roman Catholick Foundations, Constitutions, and Rights, &c. And are become a Convert to, and a professed Member of the Church of *Rome* ; where the worthy Fathers and Confessors, as *Durandus*, *Gentianus*, with multitudes of others (who were not, neither are, of the Protestant, Puritanical, and Fanatical, Conventicling

Opinion) do declare, *That Venereal Pleasures, accompanied with Loosness, Debauchery, and Prophaneness, are not such heynous Crimes and crying Sins, but rather* (as the old Woman of *Loven* said) *they do mortifie the Flesh.* And the general Opinion of Holy Mother Church, is, *That Venereal Pleasures, in the strictest sence, are but Venial Sins, which Confessors of the meanest Order can forgive.* So that the Adoring of *Venus* is by the Allowance of Great Authority, Desirable, Honourable, and Profitable.

“But when we understood, in your Address, the Barbarity of those Rude Apprentices, and the cruel Sufferings that the Sisterhood was exposed unto; especially those which were in a hopeful way of Recovery, and others that were disabled from giving Accommodation to their Right Honourable Devotaries, with the danger which you convinced us our own Person was in, together with the remembrance of our two New Corivals^g, with *Little Miss*: We were for many hours swallowed up with sorrow, and almost drownd in Tears, and could not at all be comforted, until the sweet sound of the Report came to our Ears, *That the L.C.J.K.*^h *and his Brethren, with our Counsel learned in the Law, had Commission and Instruction given to frame a Bill of Indictment against those Trayterous and Rebellious Boys, and to select a Fury of Gentlemen that should shew*

^g Mrs. Roberts (vide Burnet's History of his Own Times, i. f. 484), Nell Gwyn, and Moll Davis.

^h Sir John Keeling, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

them no favour: At which our Noble Spirit revived, and presently we consulted how we might express our Grace and Compassion towards you, and also seasonably provide for the future safety of your Practice, and exercise our Revenge upon those who so grosly abused you, and therein offered such an insufferable Affront to our Eminency, that we cannot bear without great Indignation.

"Imprimis, We engage to contribute to your Losses, either out of the Annual Rents which we have begged, or out of the next Moneys which shall come to our hands by our own Practice, or as soon as our standing Revenue shall be established: For should we part with a hundred thousand Pounds worth of our Jewels, since so much English Money hath cross'd the Narrow Seas, we fear that our Goldsmiths will not be able to raise it upon them.

"Item, For your Safety, we do conjure all *French, Irish,* and *English Hectors,* to be a Guard to the whole Sisterhood, and to take up their Quarters with them for their better security; and if they want Money for their subsistence, let them put on Courage, and take it upon the High-ways; and if any of them should be taken in the Fact, we shall, upon our Honour, procure them Pardons: or else let them cheat and cozen, and they shall have Protections.

"Item, For your Honour, doubt not of having what countenance Authority of holy Mother Church can give you. And for the increase of our Practice,

the Master of our Revels shall give Licence for the setting up of as many Play-houses as his Holiness the Pope hath Holidays in his Kalendar, that the Civil Youth of the City may be Debauched and trained up in Loosness and Ignorance, whereby the Roman Religion may with ease be established in Court, Church, City, and Nation, the most effectual means for the accomplishment of our Designs.

“*Item*, We have taken special care that our Sisterhood, and the whole Corporation, may be restored by Charter to all their former Liberties, Priviledges, and Immunities whatsoever.

“*Item*, That Sir — Berkenhead¹ and Sir — Charlton², two worthy Patriots, together with Sr. W. M.³, lately become zealously tender of our Honour, be appointed to bring in a Bill upon *Wednesday* next, for a full Toleration of all Bawdy-houses, Play-houses, Whore-houses, &c., that all the Adorers of *Venus* may come to their Worship without Molestation: And that this *Proviso* may be inserted, *That all Preaching, Printing, Private Meetings, Conventicles, &c., may be forthwith suppressed; except those that are Connived at, as Members of Holy Mother Church.*

“*Item*, We have appointed the Right Reverend Seer of *Canterbury*¹, with other Reverend Seers, viz.

¹ Sir John Birkenhead, Master of the Faculty Office and of the Court of Requests.

² Sir Job Charlton, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

³ Sir William Morris, Secretary of State. ¹ Gilbert Sheldon, D.D.

the B. of *Rochester*^m, the B. of *Gloucester*ⁿ, & Dean *Hardy*^o, the E. of *Loutherdale*, Mr. *Brounkerd*^p, *Tom Killegrew*^q and *Bab May*^r, or any three of them, to be a close *Committee* to consult the Grievances of the Sisterhood, & to remove all things that may hinder their happy Restauration with all Freedom, Safety, and Honour.

"*Item*, That all Membres of *Parliament*, of our Religion, during the Session, and no longer, may use their *Priviledge*, in sending for such of our Sisterhood to their Chambers, as they have a Mind to, upon their own terms; considering they have so Freely and Unanimously Voted Taxes, till their Own Revenues will not maintain them: That the Ingenuity and Gentility of the Sisterhood may appear to all the World, That we are better bred, than to slight those that have so Nobly provided for us.

"*Item*, We charge that none of the Sisterhood take any more *Cirsingles* or *Cassocks* to pawn, of any *Chur~~men~~*, either Romish or English, when they reel into their Quarters, because they turn not to Accompt.

"*Item*, That if any Alderman will Eat Flesh in *Lent*, or deal in Prohibited Commodities, Our plea-

^m John Dolben, D.D.

ⁿ William Nicholson, D.D.

^o Nathaniel Hardy, D.D., Dean of Rochester.

^p Vide ante, f. 77.

^q Thomas Killigrew, Esq., Groom of the Bedchamber and Master of the Revels.

^r Baptist May, Esq., Keeper of the Privy Purse.

sure is, That they pay and be paid soundly for it, least they build *London* again; contrary to the intent of those that burnt it: Only let Sir T. B.^a That would P— out the Fire, and Lieut. Col. *Rouswell* with their Brethren, that took care, *That the Fire should not be quenched*, and also withstood the *Common Council*, in sending their Petition to the Parliament, (when such full and pregnant proof was made, that the City was burnt by the Good *Roman Catholics*) have all the Courtesie Imaginable. But above all, We desire them to be kind to those, who have (to this day, out of their good affection to the *Roman Interest*) prevented by several Artifices, the putting of the aforesaid Petition into the Hands of Sir *Thomas Allen*^t, that *Fanatick ZeLOT*, who was appointed by the Court of *Common-Council*, to deliver it to the Parliament, who now (to our great Joy) will be prorogued before they can do anything in it. Neither let those Worthies be forgotten who (in despite of the Importunities of several busie Citizens) have till now hindred the preparing of a most necessary Additional Bill, for the Rebuilding of *London*: Which Work it is hoped will now cease, there being no time before the end of this Session, to carry that Bill through all the Formalities of Parliament.

“*Item*, That the same Kindness be shewed to all Officers, both Civil and Military, that came to the

^a Alderman Sir Thomas Bludworth, Lord Mayor, 1665.

^t Alderman Sir Thomas Allen, Lord Mayor, 1659.

Relief of the Sisterhood in the time of their necessity. And let those *Papists* which are now drawing from all parts of *England* and *Wales* to this Place, be acquainted with the Habitations of the Sisterhood, and delight themselves together, and consult the weighty Affairs now in hand. But for our Adversaries with the Rebellious Citizens, Let them look to it when the *French* are ready (who as yet drop in by small Parties, and lie *incognito* with the rest of the *Catholicks*) we shall deal with them, as we did with their Brethren in *Ireland*.

"*Item*, To any other then here directed, give no Entertainment without Ready Money, lest you suffer Loss. For had we not been careful in that particular, we had neither gained Honour nor Rewards, which are now (as you know) both conferred upon Us.

"CASTLEM.....

"*Given at our Closset in
King street Westminster,
Die Veneris April 24, 1668.*"

On April 5th, Pepys, with his friend Creed, went to the Duke's Theatre, and for the third time saw "The Impertinents," and in the balcony-box my Lady Castlemaine and several great ladies, among whom he found a seat. My lady, he remarks, was pretty well pleased with the play, and he contrived to sit "close to her fine woman, Willson, who indeed is very

handsome, but they say, with child by the King." From her he learned my lady had not seen the play before. "One thing of familiarity," he continues, "I observed in my Lady Castlemaine: she called to one of her women, another that sat by this, for a little patch off of her face, and put it into her mouth and wetted it, and so clapped it upon her own by the side of her mouth, I suppose she feeling a pimple rising there." From Lord Crew, three days after, he hears "that there are great disputes like to be at Court between the factions of the two women, my Lady Castlemaine and Mrs. Stewart, who is now well again, the King having made several public visits to her, and like to come to Court: the other is to go to Barkeshire-house, which is taken for her, and they say a Privy-Seal is passed for £5,000 for it."

So in April, 1668, the Lady Castlemaine became possessed, by the King's gift, of the town residence of the first and second Earls of Berkshire,—not long before occupied by the Earl of Clarendon,—and at once removed herself and family to it. Berkshire House,

in the parish then of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, a building of great extent, was situate at the south-west corner of St. James's-street, having its front to the palace, and a large walled-in garden laid out in the Dutch style, with a summer-house in the north-west corner, in its rear. At this time it was in reality a country house, standing, if we except the royal residence, quite alone. The ground that comprised the estate is now bounded on the south by Cleveland-row and Cleveland-square; on the east, by St. James's-street; on the north, by Park-place; and on the west, by the Green Park. It is shewn in Faithorne's Map of London and Westminster, 1658. Here she became a very near neighbour to the Duke and Duchess of York. M. de Rouvigny, writing to Louis XIV. on May 11, 21, refers to the King's munificence: "Cette Majesté," he says, "ne laisse pas de voir tous les jours Mad. de Castelmeine, qui n'est plus qu'une bonne amie, laquelle s'applique à faire valoir son bien, et à meubler une maison que son maître lui a donnée."

* Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain, Appendix, Review of events after the Restoration, f. 10.

The furnishing must have pulled open again Charles's purse-strings.

On May 31, "my Lady Castlemaine is, it seems," says Pepys, "now mightily out of request, the King coming little to her, and thus she mighty melancholy and discontented." On August 18, he has this entry in his "Diary :"—"Alone in the Park; but there were few coaches: among the few, there were our two great beauties, my Lady Castlemaine and Richmond; the first time I saw the latter since she had the smallpox. I had much pleasure to see them, but I thought they were strange one to another." On October 23, Mr. Pierce tells Pepys that Lady Castlemaine has become a mortal enemy to the Duke of Buckingham, being "disgusted with his greatness and his ill usage of her." On the 31st, he hears from Mr. Povy that my Lady Castlemaine hates the Duke. On December 5, Sir Thomas Osborne, afterwards Duke of Leeds, writing from London to his cousin, Mrs. Frescheville, has this passage: "A report is here also that my Lady Castlemaine intends a short journey into France, but I believe the resolution is not yet

fixt; though to invite her my Lord Hawley offers himselfe to attend her thither*." On December 21, Mr. and Mrs. Pepys, at the Duke's Theatre, seeing "Macbeth," saw also the King, Queen, and Court. They "sat just under them and my Lady Castlemaine, and close to a woman that comes into the pit, a kind of a loose gossip, that pretends to be like her, and is so, something." Here Mr. Pepys was vexed, for he saw "Moll Davis, in the box over the King's and my Lady Castlemaine's, look down upon the King, and he up to her; and troubled that my Lady Castlemaine, on perceiving who it was that attracted the King's notice, 'looked like fire.'" So ends Pepys for this year.

On January 15, 1668-9, we hear, on the authority of Sir William Coventry, that my Lady Harvey had induced the Lord Chamberlain, her kinsman, the Earl of Manchester, to imprison Mrs. Corey, of the King's Theatre,—called by Pepys Doll Common,—for imitating her upon the stage; and that my Lady Castlemaine had compelled the King to release the actress,

* MS. Harl. 7,001, f. 270.

and to order her to act the part of Sempronia again before his Majesty. These heats had caused real troubles at Court. The day following, Mr. Povy tells Pepys "that my Lady Castlemaine is now in a higher command over the King than ever,—not as a mistress, for she scorns him, but as a tyrant, to command him : and says that the Duchess of York and the Duke of York are mighty great with her, which is a great interest to my Lord Chancellor's family ; and that they do agree to hinder all they can the proceedings of the Duke of Buckingham and Arlington." The pension talked of in September, 1667, came now to Lady Castlemaine. On January 19, 1668-9, a grant out of the revenues of the Post-office to the annual amount of £4,700, was conferred upon her ladyship in the names of George, Viscount Grandison, and Edward Villiers, Esq., and their heirs⁷. That she did not receive her annuity in weekly payments at first is certain ; in her later days it is evident she did so, in sums of £100⁷. On March 4, Pepys and Sir

⁷ Pat. 20, Car. II. p. 7, n. 2.

⁷ Order for payment of £2,350 to the Duchess of Cleveland out of

Jeremy Smith went to the Treasurer of the Navy's house at Deptford, and found there the Duke and Duchess of York, the Duchess of Monmouth, the Countesses of Castlemaine, Falmouth, and Peterborough, Lady Henrietta Hyde; the Maids-of-Honour of the Duchess of York, Anne Ogle, Mary Blague, and Dorothy Howard; the mother of the maids, Mrs. Lucy Wyse; and the Honourable Mrs. William Howard, the Marquis de Blancfort, Sir Richard Powle, Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Colonel Edward Villiers, and others. On the floor of their dining-room, there being no chairs, Pepys, after dining below, found the Duke and Duchess, with all the great ladies, playing at "' I love my love with an A., because he is so and so; and I hate him with an A., because of this and that: ' and some of them, but particularly the Duchess herself and my Lady Castlemaine, were very witty." On April 28, Sir Hugh

revenues of the Post-office, the said Post-office having to pay £100 a-week on account of her pension of £4,700. Dated Midsummer, 1699. Warrant signed by the Earl of Godolphin for the payment to her of £3,525 in regard of the same pension. Dated October 4, 1708. Order for payment of £100 a-week in regard of the same. No date. (Addit. MSS. Brit. Mus., 5,755, ff. 71, 246.)

Cholmeley, speaking of the projected league with the King of France, which was to secure to the King of England annually a certain amount of French crowns, tells Pepys that my Lady Castlemaine "is instrumental in this matter, and, he says, never more great with the King than she now is." With this quotation, we take a final leave of our Diarist, who himself, unhappily for all who read, takes a final leave of his "Diary" on the 31st of the ensuing month.

On February 14, 1668-9, the King deprived the Duke of Ormond of his office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Much in the same manner as the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, he had offended the imperious mistress. She had some years before obtained a royal warrant for the grant of Phoenix Park and House near Dublin, which the Lord Lieutenant refused to pass; and further than this, he had prevailed with his Majesty to enlarge the park and to fit up the house for the convenience of himself and the Viceroys his successors. "This," says Carte, recording a second instance of the violence of her temper, "incensed

the Lady Castlemaine so highly, that upon his Grace's return to England, meeting him in one of the apartments about Court, she without any manner of regard to the place or company, fell upon him with a torrent of abusive language, loaded him with all the reproaches that the rancour of her heart could suggest, or the folly of her tongue could utter, and told him, in fine, that she hoped to see him hanged. The Duke heard all unmoved, and only made this memorable reply : 'that he was not in so much haste to put an end to her days, for all he wished with regard to her was that he might live to see her old^a.'

The following extract from the "*Mémoires du Comte de Grammont*," referring to Lady Castlemaine's intrigue with Harry Jermyn, is entertaining, and cannot be improved by translation :—" Il y avoit plus d'un an," he should have said above three years, "qu'il triomphoit des foiblesses de la Castelmaine, et plus de deux que le Roi s'ennuyoit de ses triomphes. Son oncle s'en étoit apperçu des premiers, et l'avoit obligé de s'absenter de la cour pour

^a History of James, Duke of Ormonde, ii. f. 276.

quelque tems, sur le point qu'on alloit lui en envoyer l'ordre ; car quoique sa Majesté n'eût plus que de certains égards pour Madame de Castelmaine, il ne trouva pas bon qu'une Princesse qu'il avoit honorée d'une distinction publique, et qui se trouvoit encore couchée sur l'état de ses dépenses pour d'assez gros articles, parût attachée au char du plus ridicule vainqueur qui fut jamais. Il avoit eu plusieurs démêlés avec la belle sur ce sujet ; mais toujours inutilement. Ce fut dans le dernier de ces démêlés, qu'il lui conseilla de faire plutôt des graces à Jacob Hall pour quelque chose, que de mettre son argent à Germain pour rien, puisqu'il lui seroit encore plus glorieux de passer pour la maîtresse du premier, que pour la très-humble servante de l'autre. La Castelmaine ne fut pas à l'épreuve de cette raillerie. L'impétuosité de son tempérament s'alluma comme un éclair. Elle lui dit : 'Que c'étoit bien à lui qu'il appartenoit de faire de tels reproches à la femme d'Angleterre qui les méritoit le moins ; qu'il ne cessoit de lui faire de ces querelles injustes, depuis que la bassesse de ces penchans s'étoit déclarée, qu'il ne falloit,

pour un goût comme le sien, que des oisons bridés, tels que la Stewart, la Wells^b, et cette gueuse de comédienne^c, qu'il leur avoit depuis quelque tems associée.' Des larmes de fureur se mêloient ordinairement à ces orages, ensuite de quoi reprenant le rôle de Médée, la scène se fermoit en le menaçant de mettre ses enfans en capilotade, et son palais en feu. Comment faire avec une furie déchaînée, qui toute belle qu'elle fût, ressembloit bien moins à Médée qu'à ses dragons quand elle étoit dans ses transports^d ?"

This quarrel was compromised in the usual manner, and by mutual consent the belligerents referred the matter to the Count de Gramont, who managed to please them both. The termagant, it was settled, was to abandon for ever Harry Jermyn, who was for a time to be sent into the country, and she was no more to rail against Mrs. Wells, nor storm against Mrs.

^b Winifred Wells, one of the Queen's earliest Maids-of-Honour. She is mentioned by Pepys under February 8 and 23, 1662-3, June 11, 1666, and May 30, 1669. Her parentage has not been made out, nor her history after 1669, when she was still attached to the Court.

^c Nell Gwyn or Moll Davis.

^d Mémoires du Comte de Grammont, tome ii. 205, 206.

Stewart. In consideration of these condescensions, his Majesty was to confer upon her the title of Duchess, with additional means to support her new dignity. She had, however, to wait years, instead of a few days only, for these good things, unless in this instance the name of Harry Jermyn has been substituted by Count Hamilton for that of a later favoured one.

On August 3, 1670, Barbara, Countess of Castlemaine, was created Baroness Nonsuch*, of Nonsuch Park, Surrey, Countess of Southampton and Duchess of Cleveland in the Peerage of England; with remainder to her first and third natural sons, Charles Palmer and George Palmer. The King even then would not acknowledge Henry her second son, and George is described in the patent as her *second* son. In the words of the patent, the titles were conferred "in consideration of her noble descent,

* There is a scarce engraving in stipple, printed and published by Henry Overton, called "The Handsom Barber," representing a young man in a barber's shop about to be shaved by a young woman, whilst another young woman stands by combing a periwig. As the "Virgin Barberis" is mentioned, in a wretched acrostic below the figures, as "the Nonsuch Trimmer in the Nation," the engraving has been thought to embody in it Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland.

her father's death in the service of the crown, and by reason of her own personal virtues."

Jacob Hall, whose name the King, knowing probably of the intimacy arising or begun between the parties, threw in the teeth of the enraged lady, was a famous rope-dancer, the first, we believe, on record. He was seen by Pepys exhibiting his strength and agility at Bartholomew fair in August and September, 1668,—the year, we may suppose, of his earliest appearance before the public. Count Hamilton says of him that "*sa disposition et sa force charmoient en public : ou vouloit voir ce que c'étoit en particulier ; car on lui trouvoit dans son habit d'exercise toute une autre conformation, et bien d'autres jambes que celles du fortuné Germain. Le voltigeur ne trompa point les conjectures de la Castelmaine, à ce que prétendoient celles du public, et ce que publioient maints couplets de chansons, beaucoup plus à l'honneur du danseur, que de la Comtesse : mais elle se mit bien au-dessus de tous ces petits bruits, et n'en parut que plus belle.*" The lady who smiled upon the tum-

¹ *Mémoires du Comte de Grammont, tome i. 139, 140.*

bler did indeed despise all rumours. She rewarded her lover with a salary^g, and permitted a painting to be taken, wherein she is represented at full length, in ermine robe and head adorned with plume of feathers, sitting near a table and playing on the violin, he leaning over her playing on the guitar^h.

It may have been about this time that the Duchess disposed of Berkshire House, and the greater part of the large garden behind it, for building purposes; and retaining only the south-west corner of the estate, erected thereon an extensive red brick mansion for herselfⁱ. Of Cleveland House, as it was called, there is an engraving published by N. and J. T. Smith from a drawing made in 1795, with a small bird's-eye view below it of Berkshire House, taken from Faithorne's map of London and Westminster; and its form and position is shewn in Morden and Lea's map, engraved

^g *Mémoires du Comte de Grammont*, tome ii. 300.

^h There are two other portraits of Jacob; one, in the possession of the Rev. William Vernon Harcourt, represents him with a comb in his hand; in the other,—a Van Oost, engraved in mezzo-tinto by de Brunne, and in stipple by Shencker, Freeman, and Scriven, for three of the illustrated "Grammonts,"—the comb lies on a table.

ⁱ Pennant's *London*, 1790, ff. 111, 112.

in the time of William and Mary (1688-9—1694), and in that of Pine and Tinney, 1746. On the site of the mansion, which enclosed a square court on three sides, and on a piece of ground to the west of it the present Bridgewater House stands. The west side of the Duchess's mansion is shewn in a "View of the Green Park, 1760," painted by Hogarth for the first Earl Spencer, and still in the picture-gallery at Althorp.

We have now to place before the reader the last epistle addressed to the Duchess of Cleveland by her earliest lover, that is to be met with in the Chesterfield correspondence. The fountain was not unlikely designed for the court of the Duchess's new residence.

"To the Dutches of Cleaveland.

1670.

"MADAM,

"Since the greatest pleasure of my thoughts is in thinking how to serve your ladyship, I hope that some of my actions have been soe fortunat as to remove all doubts of my obedience to the least of your commands. Madam, as soon as I came to town, I bespoke a figure for your ladyship's foun-

taine, which is a Cupid kneeling on a rock and shooting from his bow a stream of water up towards heaven. This may be interpreted by some, that teares are the best arms with which that place is to be assaulted; but my meaning in it is, that your ladyship, not being content with the conquest of one world, doth now by your devotions attack the other. I hope this stile hath to much gravity to appear gallant; since many years agoe your ladyship gave me occasion to repeate these two lines,—

“ Vous m’ôtez tout espoir pour vous, belle inhumaine,
Et pour tout[e] autre que vous, vous m’ôtez tout desir^k. ”

An accession of titles was supposed to have necessitated an accession of income, and accordingly, on January 18 following (1670-1) Barbara's elevation to the English peerage, the King conferred upon her the palace and park of Nonsuch and Nonsuch great park, in the parishes of Cheam and Malden, co. Surrey. The grant was made to George, Viscount Grandison, and the Hon. Henry Brouncker, and the King reserved to himself all issues and a rent of £10^l. In Braun's "Civitates Orbis Terrarum," &c., 1584, and in Speed's "Theatre

^k f. 159.

^l Pat. 22 Car. II., p. 7, n. 6.

of the Empire of Great Britain," 1611, will be found good engravings—the first by Half-nagle, the second by Hondius,—of the sumptuous hunting-seat of Henry VIII., which the Duchess levelled to the ground when she disparked the land, and scattered the goddess Diana and her attendant nymphs. A little time after this grant, and the Duchess was deprived by death of her mother, who had lost a third husband, Arthur Gorges, Esq., of Chelsea, co. Middlesex, on April 18, 1668. Her end occurred between March 30, 1671, —when she dated her will,—and January 20 following, when her daughter administered to her effects. Describing herself of Blankeney, co. Lincoln, she bequeathed all her estates, charged with the payment of her legacies, to Mr. John Fanning of the same place, husband of Lady Widdrington, he being a considerable creditor. She leaves to "my dear daughter the Duchess of Cleveland 20 guineas to purchase a ring." How it was that this lady administered, and how her mother's will was lost and found, and so late as February 16, 1676-7 proved by Mr. Fanning, is a mystery.

Andrew Marvell, in a letter addressed "To a friend in Persia," on August 9, 1671, gives a glowing account of the Duchess's temporal affairs at this time: "Lord St. John, Sir R. Howard, Sir John Bennet, and Sir W. Bicknell, the Brewer," he writes, "have farmed the customs; they have signed and sealed £10,000 a-year more to the Duchess of Cleveland; who has likewise near £10,000 a-year out of the new farm of the country excise of Beer and Ale; £5,000 a-year out of the Post Office; and, they say, the reversion of all the King's Leases, the reversion of places all in the Custom House, the green wax, and, indeed, what not? All promotions, spiritual and temporal^m, pass under her cognizance." In the same letter is the following: "Barclayⁿ is still Lieutenant of Ireland; but he was forced to come over to pay £10,000 rent to his Landlady Cleveland^o."

^m Sir John Bramston had heard that, besides the Duke of Buckingham, Lady Castlemaine received a feeling from Benjamin Mildmay, Esq., when prosecuting his claim to the barony of Fitzwalter, which was allowed him February 10, 1669-70. (Autobiography, f. 121.)

ⁿ John, first Lord Berkeley, of Stratton.

^o The Works of Andrew Marvell, Esq., 1776, i. f. 406.

The name of Jacob Hall having been introduced into our Memoir, we may here find, not inaptly, a place for the introduction of that of another lover—we use this word always for want of a better—of the Duchess's. In mysterious words, the Duchess, the new lover, and Jacob, have been brought in juxtaposition by Alexander Pope. We have in vain sought for the authority on which the poet has built an enigma sufficient to puzzle two of our greatest modern historians. The tale may very well have reached him from one who was living at the time of the occurrence,—perhaps from his own father. The only solution we can venture upon is that the fair lady was made angry by Ellis, as Lady Shrewsbury was by Harry Killigrew ;—although it is difficult to believe that the Duchess should care for the indecorous prating of a favoured lover,—and fearless of the Act 22 Car. II. c. 1 (baptized in the blood of Sir John Coventry), by means of a sharper instrument for her revenge than that employed by the Countess^p, reduced the

^p Pepys, May 19, 1669.

offender to the condition of Atys. Here are the lines alluded to :—

“What push’d poor E——s on th’ imperial whore?
 ’Twas but to be where Charles had been before.
 The fatal steel unjustly was applied,
 When not his lust offended, but his pride :
 Too hard a penance for defeated sin,
 Himself shut out, and Jacob Hall let in[¶].”

“Poor Ellis” was John Ellis, Esq., eldest son of the Rev. John Ellis, Rector of Waddesdon, co. Bucks., and uncle to Welbore Ellis, first Lord Mendip. He accompanied Thomas, Earl of Ossory, to Ireland, when he went there, in 1673, as Lord Deputy, acting as his secretary; and he was many years Under Secretary of State under William III. He died unmarried in 1738, aged ninety-three[†]. In a poem called “The Town Life,” we meet again with him :—

“Warwick, North, Paget, Hinton, Martin, Willis,
 And that Epitome of Lewdness, Ellys^{*} ;”

[¶] A Sermon against Adultery ; or, Sober Advice from Horace, &c.

[†] Ellis Correspondence, 1839, i. f. xvi. The letters, edited by the Hon. George Agar Ellis (Lord Dover), are addressed to him.

^{*} Poems on State Affairs, i. f. 192.

as we do also in "The Session of the Poets :"—

" Ellis in great discontent went away,
 Whilst D'Avenant against Apollo did rage ;
 Because he declar'd the Secrets a Play,
 Fitting for none but a Mountebank Stage !"

In this year (1671) we may date the Duchess of Cleveland's intrigue with the great Duke of Marlborough, at the time in question a Page of Honour to the Duke of York, and an ensign (1666) in the Guards. Count Hamilton places it in 1663^u, when John Churchill was a boy of thirteen; Mrs. Manley, before that with Henry Jermyn^x, and when he was a youth of seventeen. If we may credit the latter, he was accidentally introduced to the Duchess by her relative, his aunt, one of the many daughters of Sir John Drake, of Ashe, co. Devon, Knight, described as superintendent, or governess, of her family^y. The result of this connection was the birth of a daughter at Cleve-

^u Poems on State Affairs, f. 210.
 Grammont, tome ii. 309, 310.

^x Mémoires du Comte de
 New Atalantis, i. f. 30, &c.

^y Ibid., f. 22.

land House on July 16, 1672²; the Duchess's last child, named after herself. The love of the Duchess was of material gain to the Page. From out her purse he at once received a present of £5,000, with which, with his characteristic prudence, he immediately purchased, as we have been told by the great Lord Chesterfield—grandson of her earliest lover—from George, first Marquess of Halifax, a life annuity of £500, "the foundation," as the Earl writes, "of his subsequent fortune³." Mrs. Manley says that the lady gave him in all 140,000 crowns, and obtained for him, at a cost of 6,000 more, the place of Groom of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York, and by her influence a rise in the army⁴. Her calling about her own person "his fair and fortunate sister," and procuring for her, at the solicitation of her brother, the place of Maid-of-Honour to the Duchess of York, are fictions of De la Riviere's. The young Arabella was already a Maid-of-Honour (before 1669), and a mother (in 1670),

² Douglas' *Peerage of Scotland* (by Wood), i. f. 720.

³ Letters, No. 136.

⁴ *New Atalantis*, i. ff. 21, 40.

when the Duchess first cast her eyes upon the Page.

On March, 1671-2, Evelyn walked through St. James's Park with the King as far as *the* garden, and there left him talking familiarly to Nell Gwyn over *her* garden wall. He went on his way, wherever that was, "heartily sorry at this scene;" and the King went on his way, —to the residence of the Duchess of Cleveland, "another lady of pleasure and curse of our nation^e."

A further act of royal munificence to the new-made Duchess is to be mentioned under this year. The King, by indenture dated February 23, 1671-2, granted to George, Viscount Grandison, Henry Howard and Francis Villiers, Esquires, the manor, hundred, and advowson of Woking, co. Surrey; the manor and advowson of Chobham, the hundred of Blackheath and Wootton, the manor of Bagshot (except the Park, site of the manor and manor-house and the Bailiwick, and the office of the Bailiwick, called Surrey Bailiwick, otherwise Bagshot Bailiwick), and the advowson of Bis-

^e Memoirs.

ley, &c., all in the same county, for the term of one thousand years, commencing from the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel next; and they, on July 27 following, by like deed, declared that two-thirds of the same were used in trust for the Duchess of Cleveland and any person she might appoint by deed or will^d. In this manner the King managed to give, and the Duchess to receive, without public scandal.

Let us here call forth yet another lover of her Grace's, and not the last. In 1672, William Wycherley brought on the stage his first play. The Duchess of Cleveland was so well pleased with a compliment paid to natural children in a song introduced into "Love in a Wood," as to honour the performance of it with her presence on two consecutive nights. Meeting the author—young,

^d These two deeds are recited in a third, hereafter to be cited, *penes* Sir Charles James Palmer, Bart. On August 28, 1668, a grant was made to George, Viscount Grandison, and Edward Villiers, Esq., of a rent of £10 10s. 6d. out of the manor of Sheriff-Hutton, co. York, for a term of years. (Pat. 20 C. II., p. 3, n. 11.) On August 28, 1674, a grant to the same of a messuage in the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, and to the heirs of the said Viscount for ever. (Pat. 26, C. II., p. 3, n. 7.)

(he was only thirty-two), very handsome*, manly†, and brawny‡—when riding in her chariot in Pall Mall, she leaned half her body out of it, and laughing aloud, in this manner addressed him,—but her salutation and the dialogue that followed shall be given in the words of Dennis : “ ‘You, Wycherley,’ said she, ‘you are the son of a whore.’ ” The saluted passed on in his chariot, and having recovered from his surprise, ordered his coachman to turn back and overtake the Duchess. When this was accomplished, “ ‘Madam,’ ” said he, “ ‘you have been pleased to bestow a title on me which generally belongs to the Fortunate. Will your Ladyship be at the Play to-night?’ ‘Well,’ she replied, ‘what if I am there?’ ‘Why, then I will be there to wait on your Ladyship, tho’ I disappoint a very fine woman who has made me an assignation.’ ‘So,’ said she, ‘You are sure to disappoint a woman who has favour’d you for one who has not.’ ‘Yes,’ he reply’d, ‘if she who has

* Pope, in Spence’s Observations, 1820, ff. 116, 117.

† Dryden, Epistle to Congreve.

‡ Rochester, Session of the Poets (early edition).

not favour'd me is the finer woman of the two. But he who will be constant to your Ladyship till he can find a finer woman, is sure to die your captive.'” The lady is said to have blushed at this speech. The captive and the captor met that same night at Drury Lane Theatre, she sitting in the front row of the King's box, he in the pit, whence he entertained her during the whole play. The intimacy between the couple endangered Wycherley's hopes of preferment at Court. The Duke of Buckingham had for some time engaged spies to watch the Duchess, and had it not been for the intervention of the Earl of Rochester and Sir Charles Sedley, his tongue would have excited Charles's anger against him. As it came to pass, the favours of the mistress were followed by the favours of the King^b.

Pope's account of this adventure differs only immaterially from that by Dennis. The place wherein Wycherley sustained the Duchess's attack is the Ring in Hyde Park, and the second meeting is postponed to the next morning, when he waited upon her at her Grace's

^b Dennis, *Original Letters*, 1731, ff. 215—218.

residence¹. The attacking words are—"Sir, you're a rascal, you're a villain."

Such was the manner in which the Duchess and the dramatist, as reported by Dennis and by Pope, became acquainted. Voltaire, in his "Letters concerning the English Nation," Letter XIX., "Of Comedy," writes: "Methinks Mr. De Muralt should have mentioned an excellent comic writer (living when he was in England), I mean Mr. Wycherley, who was a long time known publicly to be happy in the good graces of the most celebrated mistress of King Charles the Second^k." Leigh Hunt finds more in these Letters of Voltaire than we can, for he says on their authority "that the Duchess used to go to Wycherley's chambers in the Temple, dressed like a country maid, in a straw hat, with pattens on, and a box or basket in her hand^l,"—a most improbable, and in her case most unnecessary, metamorphose truly. Wycherley's portrait by Lely, admirably engraved by Robinson, fully sup-

¹ Spence, f. 116.

^k English Translation, 1752, f. 126.

^l The Dramatic Works of Wycherley, &c., 1840, f. xii.

ports Alexander Pope's opinion of his personal attractions and the Duchess's taste. When he sent forth his "Love in a Wood, or St. James's Park," in print, he accompanied it with the following flattering dedication to his fair patroness :—

"To her Grace the Duchess of Cleveland.

"MADAM,—All authors whatever in their dedication are poets ; but I am now to write to a lady who stands as little in need of flattery, as her beauty of art ; otherwise I should prove as ill a poet to her in my dedication, as to my reader in my play. I can do your Grace no honour, nor make you more admirers than you have already ; yet I can do myself the honour to let the world know I am the greatest you have. You will pardon me, Madam, for you know it is very hard for a new author, and poet too, to govern his ambition : for poets, let them pass in the world ever so much for modest, honest men, but begin praise to others which concludes in themselves ; and are like rooks, who lend people money but to win it back again, and so leave them in debts to 'em for nothing ; they offer laurel and incense to their heroes, but wear it themselves, and perfume themselves. This is true, Madam, upon the honest word of an author who never yet writ dedication. Yet though I cannot lie like them, I am as vain as they ;

and cannot but publicly give your Grace my humble acknowledgments for the favours I have received from you :—this, I say, is the poet's gratitude, which, in plain English, is only pride and ambition ; and that the world might know your Grace did me the honour to see my play twice together. Yet, perhaps, my enviers of your favour will suggest 'twas in Lent, and therefore for your mortification. Then, as a jealous author, I am concerned not to have your Grace's favours lessened, or rather my reputation ; and to let them know, you were pleased, after that, to command a copy from me of this play ;—the only way, without beauty and wit, to win a poor poet's heart. 'Tis a sign your Grace understands nothing better than obliging all the world after the best and most proper manner. But, Madam, to be obliging to that excess as you are (pardon me, if I tell you, out of my extreme concern and service for your Grace) is a dangerous quality, and may be very incommode to you ; for civility makes poets as troublesome, as charity makes beggars ; and your Grace will be hereafter as much pestered with such scurvy offerings as this—poems, panegyrics, and the like—as you are now with petitions : and, Madam, take it from me, no man with papers in 's hand is more dreadful than a poet ; no, not a lawyer with his declarations. Your Grace sure did not well consider what ye did, in sending for my play. You little thought I would have had the confidence to send you a dedication too. But, Madam, you find I am as un-

reasonable, and have as little conscience, as if I had driven the poetic trade longer than I have, and ne'er consider you had enough of the play. But (having suffered now so severely) I beseech your Grace, have a care for the future ; take my counsel, and be (if you can possible) as proud and ill-natured as other people of quality, since your quiet is so much concerned, and since you have more reason than any to value yourself:—for you have that perfection of beauty (without thinking it so) which others of your sex but think they have ; that generosity in your actions which others of your quality have only in their promises ; that spirit, wit, and judgment, and all other qualifications which fit heroes to command, and would make any but your Grace proud. I begin now, elevated by my subject, to write with the emotion and fury of a poet, yet the integrity of an historian ; and I could never be weary—nay, sure this were my only way to make my readers never weary too, though they were a more impatient generation of people than they are. In fine, speaking thus of your Grace, I should please all the world but you ; therefore I must once observe and obey you against my will, and say no more, than that I am, Madam, your Grace's most obliged, and most humble servant,

“WILLIAM WYCHERLEY.”

In the “Sermon against Adultery,” before quoted from, and composed, it may be as-

sumed, in 1731, we learn whence part of the large amount of crowns bestowed upon Churchill was derived. Speaking of a fascinating actress,—

“ . . . Who with grace and ease
Could join the arts to ruin and to please,”—

the poet continues :—

“ Not so, who of ten thousand gull'd her Knight,
Then ask'd ten thousand for another night ;
• The gallant too, to whom she paid it down,
Liv'd to refuse that mistress half-a-crown.”

The editors of Pope have failed to throw a light upon the two first lines ; we have found it, however, in Boyer. “ And here,” writes that contemporary of the Duchess, “ we shall draw a vail over the life this lady led from henceforward ; for it would look too invidious to enter into the details of her amours with Goodman the Player, or to relate in what manor she trick'd Sir Edward Hungerford of the sum of ten thousand Pounds^m.”

Of this knight we are able to give some account. He was of Farleigh Castle, co. Wilts.,

^m The History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne (Appendix, Annual List of the Deaths, &c.), f. 49.

and a K.B., knighted April 23, 1661. He married Jane, daughter and heiress of George Digby, Esq., of Sandon, co. Stafford, who had previously been the wife of Charles, fourth Lord Gerard, of Bromley. From his extravagance he gained the title of "Spendthrift"; and being thereby compelled to alienate his ancestral seat by 1686, he died at his lodgings in Spring Gardens—at the miraculous age of 115—in 1711, and was buried in the church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields on July 8. He was the founder of Hungerford Market, where his bust, in a large wig, might be seen, on the north side, so late as 1832, as an engraving of it may be now in the "Gentleman's Magazine".

The information contained in the two last lines of our quotation have been borrowed by Pope from Mrs. Manley. In her "New Atlantis," we hear how "one night, at an assembly of the best quality, where the Count" (i.e. Lord Marlborough) "tallied to them at Basset, the Duchess lost all her money, and begged the favour of him, in a very civil

^a Sir R. C. Hoare's *Hungerfordiana*, 1823, f. 32.

^b Vol. CII., ii. f. 114.

manner, to lend her twenty pieces; which he absolutely refused, though he had a thousand upon the table before him, and told her coldly, the bank never lent any money. Not a person upon the place but blamed him in their hearts: as to the Duchess's part, her resentment burst out into a bleeding at her nose, and breaking of her lace; without which aid, it is believed, her vexation had killed her upon the spot^p."

Lord George Fitzroy, third son of the Duchess, on June 5, 1672, received a grant, made in the names of George, Viscount Grandison, and Edward Villiers, Esq., of £500 per annum, reserved upon the prizage and butlerage of wine; and a further grant of the prizage and butlerage to the heirs male of his body; and for default of such issue, to Charles Fitzroy, Earl of Southampton, and the heirs male of his body; and for default of such issue, to Henry Fitzroy, Earl of Euston, and the heirs male of his body^q. On August 1, the said Henry, second son of the Duchess, a boy of nine years, was married to the Lady Isabella,

^p i. ff. 43, 44.

^q Pat. 24 Car. II., p. 7, n. 1.

only child and heiress both to his titles and estates of Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, K.G., a girl of five years, by Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of the King and all the grandees of the Court^r; and on the 16th of the same month he received the titles of Baron Sudbury, Viscount Ipswich, and Earl of Euston, with remainder in default of male issue to his next brother, George Fitzroy, *alias* Palmer, in tail male. By the same patent the King granted to Charlotte Fitzroy, *alias* Palmer, his natural daughter by the Duchess of Cleveland, all the privileges, &c., of a Duke's daughter^s. On July 13, the Duke of Buckingham had proposed to the King to obtain for the Lord Henry, in place of Lady Isabella, the young Lady Elizabeth Percy, in her own right Baroness Percy, &c., daughter and heiress of Joceline, eleventh Earl of Northumberland, when he was informed that it was too late^t. Her fame rests upon the tragical death of her second husband, Thomas Thynne, Esq., of Longleat. On the last day of this

^r Evelyn's Memoirs.

^s Pat. 24 Car. II., p. 2, n. 13.

^t Macpherson, i. f. 67.

month, we have a letter dated from Thomas Povy, Esq., to Pepys, containing the information that the Duchess of Cleveland concerned herself in Parliamentary elections as well as in those to the episcopal bench. Her nominee was then Sir John Trevor, of Brynkynaltt, co. Denbigh, a lawyer, who, on the accession of James II., became Speaker of the House of Commons and Master of the Rolls, and in the reign of William and Mary first Commissioner of the Great Seal, and, who, according to the writer, was her counsel and feoffee^a.

By warrant dated December 10, 1672, the King granted arms, crests, and supporters to his three natural sons, Charles Fitzroy, Earl of Southampton, (the arms being those of England, differenced with a bend ermine); Henry Fitzroy, Earl of Euston, (like arms, with a bend compony argent and azure); and Lord George Fitzroy, (like arms, the bend compony being ermine and azure); and by another warrant dated February 28, following, he granted arms to his two natural daughters, Lady Anne

^a Pepys (Appendix), iv. f. 204.

Fitzroy, and Lady Charlotte Fitzroy, similar to those granted the Earl of Southampton[▪].

In this year John Lacy's comedy of "The Dumb Lady: or, the Farrier made Physician," appeared in print, with a dedication to the Duchess's eldest son, "Charles, Lord Limrick, and Earl of Southampton;" and his comedy of "The Old Troop: or, Monsieur Reggon," with a dedication to her third son, "The young Prince George." Lacy's motive for overlooking the Duchess's second son, the young Prince Henry, is not made apparent, as the King, the actor's patron, by this time had acknowledged him. We may here observe, that after 1672, the name of the Duchess of Cleveland ceases to appear in Chamberlayne's list of the Ladies of the Bedchamber to Queen Catherine^ʸ. The fact is, she had been driven from Court by the Test Act, which passed the Lords on March 20, 1672-3, and which incapacitated any papist, other than an alien, from holding a place of profit or trust under the Crown.

▪ Inf. Sir Albert William Woods, Garter King of Arms, F.S.A.

ʸ Angliæ Notitia.

The death of Mrs. Stuart's husband in the December of 1672, opened to the Duchess's eldest son the Order of the Garter, to which honour he was elected, and invested on January 25; and, on April 30, her second son obtained the office of Receiver General and Comptroller of the Seals of the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas to himself and heirs male^a. On August 11, 1674, we have to record a second marriage in Her Grace's family, when the Lady Anne Fitzroy, at the age of thirteen and a half, gave up her liberty, at Hampton Court, to Thomas Lennard, fourteenth Lord Dacre, a gentleman of the Bedchamber to the King^a. No particulars of the nuptials of this young girl have been noticed, but there is good reason to support our belief, that on the same day her younger sister, the Lady

^a Pat. 25 Car. II. p. —, n. —, (according to Act 8 and 9 Vic., c. 34, abolishing the office). On June 21 following he had granted to him the reversion, on the death of the Earl of Arlington, of the honour and manor of Grafton, co. Northampton, remainder to his heirs male. (Pat. 25 Car. II. p. 8, n. 8.) On January 12, 1681, the reversion, on the deaths of the Earl of Northampton and the Earl of Arlington, of the wardenship of Whittlewood Park and forest, remainder to his heirs male. (Pat. 32 Car. II. p. 3, n. 15.)

^a Hampton Church register.

Charlotte Fitzroy, was contracted at the age of ten, to Edward Henry Lee, raised from an early baronetcy to the Earldom of Lichfield two months before, viz. on June 5. He also was a gentleman of the King's Bedchamber.

To provide for these marriages the wedding clothes of the Ladies Sussex and Lichfield, the Duchess, on May 2nd, purchased of William Gostling and Co., lacemen, several parcels of gold and silver lace to the amount of £646 8s. 6d.; and on other occasions, of the same, (bought by Mrs. Mary Kirke), lace to the amount of £200; of Benjamin Drake, milliner, wares to the amount of £315 18s. 6d.; of Nicholas Fownes, mercer, wares to the amount of £642 14s. 6d.; of John Eaton, lace and other things to the amount of £1,082 8s. 10d.; of Peter Pretty and Co., mercers, wares to the amount of £55 11s. 0d.; amounting in all to £2,943 1s. 4d.: which sum, or at least £1,599 18s. 0d. of it, was paid by the King out of his secret service funds^b. But his Majesty did not stop here. By a warrant signed by Mr. Secre-

^b Secret Service Expences of Charles II. and James II., ff. 87, 91, 96, 97, 99.

tary (Henry) Coventry, the Treasurer, and other officers of the Exchequer, were commanded to pay to Sir Walter St. John and others, Trustees of the Earl of Lichfield, the sum of £18,000, in dower with the Lady Charlotte. This was in July preceding the marriages; and a similar warrant, signed by His Majesty, directed the payment to George, Viscount Grandison, and Sir John Baber, Knight, Trustees of Lord Dacre, the sum of £20,000, in dower with the Lady Anne; and on payment thereof, the vacation of a Privy Seal of the 25th of August last, for payment of £2,000 per annum to Sir Stephen Fox for the King's secret service subscribed by Mr., afterwards Sir William, Trumbull. This was in September following the marriages^o.

We will now leave the young wives, the

^o In August this year George Dupuy, the Duchess's steward, ran away from her service with a considerable sum of money. There is a description of his person and dress in the London Gazette of August 13-17, 1674, No. 912; whoever would apprehend him and give notice of having done so at Cleveland House, was to be "extraordinary well rewarded." This advertisement was followed by another in the Gazette of March 25-29, 1675, No. 976, in which we learn that Mr. Dupuy "is returned and hath justified himself towards her Grace, who hath given him leave to have it [his justification] inserted in this Gazette."

one—not at Chevening Park, nor at Hurstmonceaux Castle,—but at her spendthrift lord's London residence in Warwick-street, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. The other with, for a few years longer, her mother.

The next event in the Duchess's life that we have knowledge of, was the elevation of her son George to the Peerage. The titles granted to him on October 1, 1674, were the Barony of Pontefract, the Viscounty of Falmouth, and the Earldom of Northumberland. Four days later, her son-in-law, Lord Dacre, became, by creation, Earl of Sussex.

On October 9, a grant of £6,000 per annum from the revenues of the excise was made to George, Viscount Grandison, and Edward Villiers, Esq., Trustees of Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland, for ninety-nine years, if she should so long live; remainder to Charles, Earl of Southampton, and the heirs male of his body; remainder over to Lord George Fitzroy, and Henry, Earl of Euston, and the heirs male of their bodies^d. On the 22nd of the same month further grants were made from the same re-

^d Pat. 26 Car. II. p. 7, n. 19.

venues of £3,000 per annum to each of the Duchess's sons, and the heirs male of their bodies*. On September 10, the following year, Charles, called Earl of Southampton, was created Baron Newbery, Earl of Chichester, and Duke of Southampton, with remainder, in default of issue male of his body, to his youngest brother, George; and on the 11th, the Earl of Euston was advanced to the Dukedom of Grafton.

The second marriage of the Countess of Lichfield, who had then nearly reached the age of twelve and a-half years, took place on February 20, 1676-7. It has been recorded by Sandford^f, but we have no particulars to give of the ceremony.

The last grant which the Duchess obtained from the Crown was on April 7, 1677. It comprised the office of Chief Steward of the honour and manor of Hampton Court, and Feodary of the honour, with that of Lieutenant and Keeper of the Chace, &c., and was made in the name of William Young, Esq., for the

* Pat. 26 Car. II. p. 7, n. 13.

^f Genealogical History of the Kings of England, 1707, f. 639.

lives of herself and her son, the Earl of Northumberland^g. The same offices had been held by her Grace's relatives, the first Duke of Buckingham and the first Earl of Anglesea. The official residence of the Ranger was the lodge in Bushey Park; but for the last twenty years of her life it had, from decay, been uninhabitable^h.

It is probable that in this year the Duchess withdrew herself into France. In it we find her presenting a thousand pounds to the English nuns of the order of the Immaculate Conception of our Blessed Lady residing in their monastery in the Rue Charenton, Fauxbourg St. Antoine, at Paris, commonly known as the Blue Nuns. This liberal donation tempted them to commence a new church, to be finished only in 1690. She had placed her daughter Barbara in the convent as a pensioner, and hence arose her munificenceⁱ. The Hon. Ralph Montagu,—afterwards Duke of his name, married to Elizabeth, Countess of Northumberland, a lover of Madam Myddelton's, and a

^g Pat. 29 Car. II. p. 3, n. 7.

^h Pat. 8 Anne, p. 1, n. 3.

ⁱ Archæologia, xxviii. f. 196.

man more formidable to the ladies from his assiduity and his wit than from his personal appearance^k—was then, as he had been since 1669, the English Ambassador in France. Of this gentleman and his connection, we will here leave Bishop Burnet to speak. A.D. 1678, “Montague, who was a man of pleasure, was in an intrigue with the Duchess of Cleveland, who was quite cast off by the King, and was then in Paris. The King had ordered him to find out an astrologer, of whom it was no wonder he had a good opinion, for he had, long before his restoration, foretold he should enter London on the 29th of May, '60. He was yet alive, and Montague found him, and saw he was capable of being corrupted. So he resolved to prompt him to send the King such hints as should serve his own ends. And he was so bewitched with the Duchess of Cleveland, that he treated her with this secret. But she, growing jealous of a new amour, took all the ways she could think on to ruin him, reserving this of the astrologer for her last shift. And by it she compassed her ends, for [the

^k *Mémoires du Comte de Grammont*, tome i. 143.

King looked upon this as such a piece of treachery and folly that] Montague was intirely lost upon it with the King, and came over without being recalled¹."

Montagu's old amour could not very well be carried on without love letters from each party, and we are fortunately in a position to give here two short ones addressed by the Duchess to the Ambassador, copied from the originals in the possession of Earl Stanhope, who, with his accustomed liberality and kindness, has permitted us the use of them. The "garle," whose illness evoked the solicitude of the Duchess, was Montagu's only daughter, born in 1674, who lived to become Lady Anne, and the wife of two husbands, Alexander Popham, Esq., of Littlecote, co. Wilts., and Lieutenant-General Daniel Harvey. The letters, which are without signatures, are as follows :—

"friday.

"bcfor I rescued yours I was in expectation of seing you to daye, but the ocation that hinders your

¹ Vol. ii. p. 422. There are several letters addressed by the Hon. Ralph Montagu to the Hon. Henry Sidney in 1678, in each of which he alludes to the Duchess, in the possession of the Earl of Chichester. (Diary of the Times of Charles II., 1843, i. f. 79.)

comming I am extremly sorry for, being realy and kindly consarned for you and all that relats to you. I doe ashuer you I am as much afflictid for your garls ilnes as if she ware my one, and shall be as unease till I heare she is better; I was yesterdaye at Paris, but not hauing the Pleausher of seing you thar mayd me dislik it more then euer."

"tusday.

"I will yeld the disscret part to you thoue not the other for notwithstanding the but, I doe ashuer you the ten days will be more griuos to me then to you."

Montagu's new amour was with the Duchess's own daughter, the Countess of Sussex. The Duchess, importuned by Henry Savile to come over to England in March this year,—that through her influence he might obtain the King's permission to dispose of his place of Groom of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York, and to obtain some additional money from his Majesty, with a view to the purchase of his uncle the Hon. Henry Coventry's place of Secretary of State (the object also of Montagu's desire)—made the desired journey^m. On

^m Letter from Hon. Ralph Montagu to a male cousin, in Brit. Mus. Library; vide Mrs. Jameson's *Beauties*, 1828, i. ff. 91, 92.

her return to France, she addressed the following remarkable letter to the King, denouncing both her daughter and the Ambassador, and adding a name to her already long list of lovers. She had left the Countess under the care of the abbess of the monastery at Conflans without Paris, and on her return had found her removed to that of the Holy Sepulchre in the Rue Neuve de Belle-chasse, quartier St. Germain within Paris.

"Paris, Tuesday 28, [May 16]78.

"I was never so surprized in my holle life-time, as I was at my comming hither, to find my Lady Sussex gone from my house & monestrey where I left her, & this letter from her, which I here send you the copy of. I never in my holle life-time heard of suche government of herself as She has had, since I went into England. She has never been in the monestrey two daies together, but every day gone out with the embassador; & has often layen four daies together at my house, & sent for her meat to the Embassador, he being allwaies with her till five a'clock in y^e morning, they two shut up together alone, and w^d not let any maistre d'hostel wait, nor any of my servants, onely the Embassador's. This made so great a noise at Paris, that she is now the holle discours. I am so much af-

flicted that I can hardly write this for crying, to see that a child that I doated on as I did on her, sh^d make so ill a return, & join with the worst of men to ruin me. For sure never any malice was like the Ambassador's, that onely because I w^d not answer to his love, & the importunities he made to me, was resolv'd to ruin me. I hope y^r majesty will yet have that justice & consideration for me, that thô I have done a foolish action, you will not let me be ruined by y^s most abominable man. I do confess to you that I did write a foolish letter to the Chevalier de Chatilion, w^{ch} letter I sent enclosed to Madam de Pallas, & sent hers in a packet I sent to Lady Sussex by Sir Henry Tychborn^a; w^{ch} letter she has either given to y^e ambassador, or else he had it by his man, to whom Sir Henry Tychborn gave it to, not finding my Lady Sussex. But as yet I doe not know w^{ch} of the waies he had it, but I shall know as soon as I have spoke wth Sir Henry Tychborn. But the letter he has, and I doubt not but that he either has or will send it to you. Now all I have to say for myself is, that you know as to love, one is not mistriss of one's self, & that you ought not to be offended wth me, since all things of y^s nature is at an end wth you and I, so that I could do you no prejudice. Nor will you, I hope, follow the advice of y^s ill man, who in his hart I know hates you, & were it for his interest w^d ruine you too if he could. For he has neither conscience nor honour,

^a Third Baronet, Lieutenant of the Ordnance, and a Roman Catholic.

& has several times told me, that in his hart he despised you and y^r brother; and that for his part, he wished wth all his hart that the parliament w^d send you both to travell, for you were a dull governable fool, and the duke a willfull fool. So that it was yet better to have you than him, but that you all-waies chose a greater beast than y^rself to govern you. And wⁿ I was to come over, he brought me two letters to bring to you, w^{ch} he read both to me before he seal'd them. The one was a man's, that he sayd you had great faith in; for that he had several times foretold things to you that were of consequence, and that you believed him in all things, like a changeling as you were. And that now he had writ you word, that in a few months the King of France, or his son, were threatn'd wth death, or at least a great fit of sickness, in w^{ch} they w^d be in great danger, if they did not dye; and that therefore he counsell'd you to defer any resolutions of war or peace till some months were past; for that if this happen'd, it w^d make a great change in France. The ambassador, after he had read this to me, sayd, 'Now the good of this is,' says he, 'that I can do w^t I will wth this man; for he is poor, & a good summe of money will make him write w^{tever} I will.' So he proposed to me that he & I should join together in the ruining my Lord Treasurer and the Dutchess of Portsmouth, which might be done thus:—The man, thó he was infirm and ill, sh^d go into England, and there, after having been a little time

to sollicite you for money; for that you were so base, that though you employd him, you let him starve; so that he was obliged to give him 50lb, & that the man had writ several times to you for money. And, says he, w^a he is in England, he shall tell the King things that he foresees will infallibly ruin him; & so with those to be removed, as having an ill star, that w^d be unfortunate to you if they were not removed: but if that were done, he was confident you would have the gloriousest reign that ever was. This, says he, I am sure I can order so, as to bring to a good effect, if you will. And in the mean time, I will try to get Secretary Coventry's place, w^{ch} he has a mind to part with, but not to Sir Will^m Temple; because he is the Treasurer's creature, and he hates the Treasurer; and I have already employ'd my sister to talk wth Mr. Cook, and to send him to engage Mr. Coventry not to part wth it as yet, and he has assured my Lady Harvey he will not. And my L^d Treasurer's lady and Mr. Bertie are both of them desirous I sh^d have it. And w^a I have it, I will be damn'd if I do not quickly get to be Lord Treasurer; and then you & y^r children shall find such a friend as never was. And for the King, I will find a way to furnish him so easily wth money for his pocket & his wenches, that we will quickly out Bab. May, & lead the King by the nose.' So w^a I had heard him out, I told him I thank'd him, but that I w^d not meddle in any such thing: and that for my part, I had no

malice to my Lady Portsmouth, or the Treasurer, and therefore I w^d never be in any plot to destroy them, but that I found the character the world gave of him was true: w^{ch} was, that the Devil was not more designing than he was. And that I wonder'd at it; for that sure all these things working in his brains must make him very uneasy, and w^d at last make him mad. 'Tis possible you may think I say all this out of malice. 'Tis true he has urged me beyond all patience; but w^t I tell you here is most true; & I will take the sacrament of it when ever you please. 'Tis certain I w^d not have been so base as to have informed ag^t him for w^t he had sayd before me, had he not provoked me to it in y^s violent way that he has. There is no ill thing w^{ch} he has not done me, and that wthout any provocation of mine, but that I would not love him. Now, as to w^t relates to my daughter Sussex, & her behaviour to me, I must confess that afflicts me beyond expression, & will do much more, if what she has done be by y^r orders. For thô I have an intire submission to y^r will, and will not complain w^{te}ver you inflict upon me; yet I cannot think you would have brought things to y^s extremity wth me, & not have it in y^r nature ever to do no cruel things to any thing living. I hope therefore you will not begin wth me; and if the Ambassador has not rec^d his orders from you, that you will severely reprehend him for this inhumane proceeding. Besides, he has done w^t you ought to be very angry wth him for, for he has

been wth the king of France, & told him that he had intercepted letters of mine by y^r order, who had been informed that there was a kindness between me and the Chevalier de Chatillon, & therefore you bid him take a course in it, & stop my letters; w^{ch} accordingly he has done. And that upon this you order'd him to take my children from me, & to remove my Lady Sussex to another monastery. And that you were resolv'd to stop all my pensions, & never to have any regard to me in any thing. And that if he w^d oblige y^r majesty, he sh^d forbid the Chevalier de Chatillon ever seeing me, upon y^e displeasure of losing his place, & being forbid the court; for that he was sure you expected this from him. Upon w^{ch} the King told him that he could not do anything of y^e nature: for that, this was a private matter, & not for him to take notice of. And that he c^d not imagine that you ought to be so angry, or indeed be at all concerned; for that all the world knew, that now all things of gallantry were at an end with you and I; that being so, & so publick, he did not see why you sh^d be offended at my loveing any body. That it was a thing so common nowadays to have a gallantry, that he did not wonder at any thing of this nature. And wⁿ he saw the King take the thing thus, he told him if he w^d not be severe to the Chevalier de Chatillon upon y^r account, he supposed he w^d be so upon his own: for that in the letters he had discoverd, he found that the Chevalier had proposed to

me the engaging of you in the mariage of the Dauphin & Madamoselle^o: and that was my greatest busyness into England. That before I went over, I had spoke to him of the thing & w^d have ingaged him in it; but that he refused it, for that he knew very well the indifference you had whether it were or no, & how little you cared how Madamemoselle was married. That since I went into England 'twas possible I might engage somebody or other in y^s matter to press it to you, but that he knew very well, that in y^r hart you cared not whether it was or no, that this busyness setting on foot by the Chevalier. Upon w^{ch} the King told him, that if he w^d shew him any letters of the Chevalier de Chatillon to that purpose, he should then know w^t he had to say to him; but that till he saw those letters, he w^d not punish him wthout a proof for w^t he did. Upon w^{ch} the Ambassador shewd a letter, w^{ch} he pretended one part of it was double entendre. The King said he c^d not see that there was any thing relating to it, & so left him, and said to a person that was there, 'Sure the Ambassador was the worst man that ever was; for because my Lady Cleveland will not love him, he strives to ruine her the basest in the world, and w^d have me sacrifice the Chevalier de Chatillon to his revenge, w^{ch} I shall not do, till I see better proofs of his having medled wth the

^o Marie-Louise, eldest daughter of Philip, Duke of Orleans, and the Princess Henrietta-Maria, sister of Charles II. She was married August 3^d, 1679, to Charles II., King of Spain.

mariage of the Dauphin & Madamoselle than any yet that the Ambassador has shewed me.' This methinks is w^t you cannot but be offended at, and I hope you will be offended wth him for his whole proceeding to me, & let the world see that you will never countenance the actions of so base & ill a man. I had forgot to tell you, that he told the King of France, that many people had reported that he made love to me; but there was nothing of it, for he had too much respect for you to think of any such thing. As for my Lady Sussex, I hope you will think fit to send for her over, for she is now mightily discoursd of for the Ambassador. If you will not believe me in this, make inquiry into y^e thing, & you will finde it to be true. I have desired Mr. Kemble to give you y^e letter, & to discourse wth you more at large upon this matter, to know y^r resolution, & whether I may expect that justice & goodness from you w^{ch} all the world does. I promise you that for my conduct, it shall be such, as that you nor nobody shall have occasion to blame me; and I hope you will be just to w^t you said to me, w^{ch} was at my house, wⁿ you told me you had letters of mine; you said, 'Madam, all that I ask of you for y^r own sake is, live so for the future as to make the least noise you can, & I care not who you love.' Oh! this noise that is, had never been, had it not been for the Ambassador's malice. I cannot forbear once again saying, I hope you will not gratify his malice in my ruine ^p."

^p This letter is printed from MS. Harl. 7,006 ff. 171—176, a tran-

To this long epistle the King returned a satisfactory answer, which elicited from the Duchess the following grateful rejoinder,—remarkable for its confirmation of the day, or rather night, of her first connection with his Majesty :—

*“ Paris, friday 3 a clocke in the
afternoon.*

“ I reseued your Ma^{ty} letter last night with more Joy then I can expres, for this prosiding of yours is so Jenoros and obliging that I must be the werst wooman aliue ware I not sensible ; no S^r my hart and soule is toucht with this genoriste of yours and you shall allways find that my conduct to the world and behauour to your childeren shall allways render me worthy of your protecktion and fauor, this pray be confydent of ; I did this morning send your letter to my Lady Sussex by my Jentleman of the hors, who when he cam to the grat asket for her, her wooman cam and told him her lady was aslep : he sayd he would stay till she was awake, for that he had a letter to giue into her owne hands from the

script made by the Rev. George Harben from the original, in Horace Walpole's time, *penes* Thomas, Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire (Walpoliana, 1799, i. f. 65). It has already four times appeared in print,—in the Annual Register, 1766, ix. ff. 201—205 ; in Harris's Life of Charles II. ii. (Appendix), ff. 393—400 ; in Miss Berry's Comparative View of Society in England and France, 1844, i. ff. 64—72 ; and in the second edition of Mrs. Jameson's Beauties, 1838, i. ff. 93—100.

King, and that he would not deliuer it but to her self: her wooman went into her and stayd aboue half an hower, which I beleue was whilest she sent to the Embasodor, for he cam in as Lachosse was thar: her wooman cam owet and sayd that her lady had binne ill to days, and had conultion fits and knue nobody; uppon which Lachosse sayd that since she was in that condition he would carry backe the letter to me: the wooman ansard that if he would leaue the letter with her she would giue it her lady when she came to her self, but that nowe she knue nobody, and calld all that ware abowet her, my Lord Embasodor and my Lady, and spoke of nothing but them; as soone as I heard this I sent to the Arch Bishop of Paris to let him knowe that haueng sent to Bellchas to specke with my daughtar and to send her a letter of consaren from the King, I heard that she was extrem ill and could not com to the Parloyer, wherfor I desierd he would send to the Abbes to let one of my weemen goe in to speck with her: he immedietely writ, on which I sent Pigon with; when she went to the Abbess she sayd that my Lady Sussex was not so ill as that thar was a nesesity of opening the dores of the monestry, and that if she would com at seuen a clocke at night my Lady Sussex would be at the Parloyer, but that nowe she could not com becaus she had binne just let blood, and that for comming in she would not permit her; uppon this I sent agan to the Archbishop^a and sent

^a François de Harlai.

your letter to him, which I mad be put into french that he might se why I prest him so earnestly, and desierd him to send a more positue command to the Abbes: he read the letter and sayd he was uery much surprised, but he would send a Prist along with my wooman and him to specke to the Abbess, but that Prist should goe in his coach: all this was to gane time that he might send as I beleue to my Lady Sussex, whoe he uisits very often, and this monestry whar she is is cald the Bishops monestry, and has none of the best reputations; when Pigion cam to the monestry the Prist talket with the Abbess abowet half an hower, and then cam to her and told her that my Lady Sussex was at the Parloyer: she went thar and found my Lady Sussex siting thar with the Embasodor: she gaue her the leter: the Embasodor turnd to her and told her, 'M^{rs} Pigion, the King has som of your letters.' She made him a cursy and sayd, 'has he, my Lord, I am uery glad of it.' My Lady Sussex sayd, 'M^{rs} Pigion, if the King knue the reasons I haue for what I haue don he would be more angre with my Lady then with me, for that I can Justify to the King and the world why I haue don this, and though I haue conseald it all this whill owet of respect to my Lady, I will satisfy the King, and I dowet not but he will turne his angre from me to my Lady.' Pigion told her, 'these ware thinges she did not enter into, and that she had only orderes from me to aske her for the letter, when she had read it that I might sattisfy

pepell that it was not by the Kinges order she was thar.' She sayd 'noe, she would not giue the leter backe,' uppon which the Embasodor stood up and sayd, 'my Lady Sussex, doe not giue the letter backe.' 'No, my Lord,' says she, 'I doe not intend it;' with that the Embasodor rise up and sayd, 'M^{rs} Pigion, doe you knowe whoe my Lady Sussex is that you should dare to dissput withe her the deliuering the leter.' She sayd, 'my Lord, I hop I haue don nothing unbecomming the respect I aught to pay my Lady Sussex.' 'Yes,' says he, 'you se she is not well and you argue with her.' 'My Lord,' says she, 'I only aske her for the leter agan as my Lady commanded me.' 'The King,' says he, 'has Letters both of yours and your ladys.' 'My Lord,' says she, 'what letters I haue writ I doe not at all aprehend the Kinges seing, and for my Lady she is uery well inforamd of all that is past.' 'M^{rs} Pigion,' says he, 'my Lady Sussex being the Kinges daughter, it was not fit for her to liue with my Lady Duchess, whoe lead so infamos a life, and therfor she remoued, and if annybody askes whoe counseld her to it you may tell them it was I.' 'Tis anof, my Lord,' says Pigion, and so mad a curse and cam away; this I thought fite to giue you an account of with all sped that you may se howe this ill man sekcs to ruen her, he made her goe to court with my Lady Embasodris, and she was at the hotell de uille of St Jhons day at the fyer and the super, and has mayd a great manny fyn clothes and tacken

thre weemen to wayet one her, of the Embasodors prefering, and a swise to stand at her Parloyer dore, and thar is furneture a making for her apartment, and she is tacking more footmen, for as yeat she has but one; I dowet not but that the Embasodor will inuent a thousan lyes for her and himself to writ to you of me, but beleue me uppon my word if thay tell truth thay can haue nothing to say of my conduct, for I haue, both before I went into England and since I cam back, liued with that resaruednes and honnor that had you your self market me owet a life I am sure you would haue ordered it so, and had it not binne for that sely Leter, his malis could not haue had a pretention to haue blasted me, and thous leters can neuer be knowen but by him and my Lady Sussex; pray if your Ma^{ty} has them send them to me, that I may se if thay ar all and the originales, if not I bege of you to oblige them to deliuer them to you, for I knowe not what ill use thay may make of them, ore wether the Embasodores malis may not forge letters I neuer writ: if you will let me se thous you haue I will aquant you wether ore noe thay be all; you ar pleasd to command my Lady Sussex to stay in the monass-tery at Conflans: I bege of your Ma^{ty} not to command her that for It must be uery uneasy to her and me to, euer to liue together after such a prosiding as she has had to me, and though I am so good a christen as to forgiue her, yeat I cannot so fare conquer my self as to se her dayly, though your

Ma^{ty} may be confydent that as she is yours I shall allways haue som remans of that kindnes I had formerly, for I can hate nothing that is yours ; but that which I would propos to you is that you would writ a letter in french which may be showed to the Arch Bishop of Paris, in which you desier she may be put into the Monestry of Portroyall at Paris^r, and that she maye haue to nuns giuen her to wayet on her, and that she cares no saruants with her, that she stires not owet nor reseaues. no uisits what so euer withowet a leter from me to the Abbes, for whar she is now all pepell uisits her, and the^r Embasodor and others caryes consorts of museke euery day to entertan her, so that the holle disscores of this place is nothing but of her, and she must be ruend if you doe not tacke som spedy cores with her : this Portroyall that I propos to you is in great reputation for the piete and regularety of it, so that I thinke it much the best place for her and for Conflans, ware it not for the reasons I haue giuen you before that place would not be proper for her, for she has by great presents that she has mad the Abbess gand her to say what she will, for when I cam ouer she would haue conseald from me my Lady Sussex frequent goeng owet of the monestry, but that it was so publike she could not doe it long, and when she

^r The celebrated abbey of Our Lady of Port Royal des Champs, near Magny Les Hameux, between Versailles and Chevreuse. The nuns, at an earlier date, had been located in the Rue de la Bourbe, Paris, their convent then being called Port Royal only.

sawe that she sayd that my Lady Sussex told her she went owet for afares of min that I had orderd her to doe in my absance, this being, Conflans is of all places the most unfit for her, and would be the most uneasse to me, therfor I doe most humbly bege of your Ma^{ty} not to command her that place¹."

We have to seek for the facts which should account for the separation of the Earl and Countess of Sussex at this time, for the lady evidently was living apart from her lord before her amour with the gay Ambassador. He was soon, however, called upon by his faithless spouse to forgive her transgressions, and to receive her again into his house. On "June the 4th" following the Duchess's address to the King, Anne Barrett-Lennard, the Earl's cousin-german, writing from London to her brother Dacre Barrett-Lennard, in Dublin, in one of her characteristic epistles, thus conveys to him, among other news of her circle, the following piece of intelligence: "My Lord Sussex has received a message by Sir Thomas

¹ Holograph letter, MS. Addit. 21,505, f. 32, &c., Brit. Mus. As well as those in Earl Stanhope's possession, it was formerly in the Melfort collection.

Bond and Colonel Villars from his lady to receive her again; and 'tis believed, if he should refuse (which he has not yet, but defers his answer till she has writ to him herself), the duchess will prevail with the King to stop his pension of 2000*l.* a-year, and by that means force him to it. I hope the hearing she is much handsomer than ever will revive my lord's old love, and without trying rough means, they may come together and live as affectionately as Sir John Williams and his lady[†], who are now as fond a couple as your fair mistress and Mr. Finch, who have been married three weeks[‡]."

The Lady Sussex was fair to look upon. Her portrait tells us so much. But the less we look into her private character the better. She is *blackened*^{*} with the Duchess of Mazarine

[†] The wife of Sir John Williams, Baronet, Susanna, daughter of Sir Thomas Skipwith, Baronet, was after her marriage for a short time mistress to the Duke of York.

[‡] Original letter, *penses* Sir Thomas Barrett-Lennard, Baronet.

^{*} The name of the Duchess of Mazarin's negro was Pompey; vide the Works of Monsieur de St. Evremond, by M. des Maizeaux, 1714, ii. f. 257. He finds his way into another satire:—

"'Tis not a scabby chin can raise my spleen,
Nor rival to the Moor of Mazarine."

(Poems on Affairs of State, 1703, continuation of vol. i. f. 40.)

in "Rochester's Farewell, 1680^r;" and comes out even less favourably in "Cullen with his Flock of Misses, 1679^r;" whilst in "Rochester's Ghost addressing itself to the Secretary of the Muses," she is to be found bracketed with seven other ladies, including her mother, of indifferent reputation :—

"And here, would time permit me, I could tell,
Of Cleveland, Portsmouth, Crofts, and Arundel,
Mol. Howard, Su——x, Lady Grey, and Nell,
Strangers to good, but bosom Friends to ill.
As boundless in their lusts as in their will^a."

There is clear evidence to shew that the Earl, sooner or later, acceded to his Countess's request, as in the year 1684 she presented him with a daughter, his eventual heiress. Now to the Chevalier de Châtillon. In the pages of MM. Anselm and Du Tourny^b we have sought for the gentleman referred to by the Duchess, and the only person we find answering to his description is Alexis Henry dit le Marquis de Chastillon, Seigneur de Chantemerle, de la

^r Poems on Affairs of State, i. f. 158.

^s Ibid., f. 134.

^a Ibid., ii. f. 131.

^b Histoire Généalogique, &c., 1728, tome vi. 119.

Rambaulure, &c., who was first Gentleman of the Chamber to Louis XIV., and both Governor of Chartres and Mestre de Camp of the regiment called after that city. He was created a Knight of the King's orders on December 31, 1688, and, as the Chevalier de Châtillon, is mentioned by the Marchioness de Sévigné in a letter of January 5, 1673-4^c. We hear also of him, if he was indeed the Duchess's lover, in "Cullen with his Flock of Misses." Assuming that Charles designed to free himself from the Duchess of Portsmouth's chains, her place is in the market :—

"C——land offered down a Million,
But she was soon told of Castillion ;
At that name she fell a weeping,
And swore she was undone with Keeping :
That C——l, G——n, had so drain'd her,
She could not live on the Remainder.
The Court said there was no Record
Of any to that place restor'd :
Nor might the King at these Years venture,
Who in his Prime could not content her^d."

On the evening of November 6, 1679, the young girl whose fate had been bound up with

^c Letters of Madame de Sévigné, 1811, ii. f. 325.

^d Poems on Affairs of State, i. f. 134.

that of Dryden's "Young Othniel," full seven years before, was again married to her youthful husband. Evelyn, who was present on this occasion, as he was at their previous nuptials, has left a memorandum concerning it. "The ceremonie," he says, "was performed in my Lord Chamberlaines (her Father's) lodgings at Whitehall by the Bishop of Rochester, his Ma^y being present. A sudden and unexpected thing, when every body believed the first marriage wo^d have come to nothing." He makes no allusion to the mother, who, residing in Paris, and objecting to the connection, had vainly engaged the Earl of Danby to break off the match^e. The bridegroom, being bred to the sea, Evelyn ventures a belief that "he may emerge a plain, useful, and robust officer, and were he polished," he adds, "a tolerable person, for he is exceedingly handsome, by far surpassing any of the King's other natural

* In Mitford's (Aldine) edition of Dryden's *Poetical Works*, 1832, ii. f. 41, is this note by D. (the Rev. Alexander Dyce?): "I have seen a letter from her to lord-treasurer Danby, dated from Paris (I think in 1675), thanking him for his care in endeavouring to prevent the match. It is in her own handwriting."

issue^f." On August 31, in the following year, he joined his elder brother in the list of Knights of the Garter.

On November 16, 1680, the Duchess of Southampton was buried in Westminster Abbey^g. The date of the marriage of the Duke to Mary, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Henry Wood, Knight, one of the Clerks of the Spicery under Charles I., and one of the Clerks of the Green Cloth under Charles II.,—has escaped the research of the genealogist. By this lady he had no issue.

In the beginning of 1682, the Duchess of Portsmouth was on a visit to the baths of Bourbonne^h,—whether on account of her health or by the King's order is doubtful,—and in the month of March she and the Duchess of Cleveland are brought in contact with each other, and with the ghost of another celebrated personage, in the capital of France, by a satirist of the day, in "A Dialogue between the D. of C. and the D. of P. at their meeting in Paris with

^f Memoirs.

^g Boyer's Annals, viii. f. 390.

^h Macpherson, i. f. 132. She had returned to London by the beginning of July. (Ibid., f. 121.)

the Ghost of Jane Shore." The poetical conversation is carried on as follows :—

" C. Art thou return'd, my sister Concubine,
For all those subtle Cunning Arts of thine,
With which thou didst subdue our Monarch's heart,
And wouldst not let me with thee share a part ;
Tho' my great beauty did that heart subdue,
Long ere it could so meanly stoop to you ?

" P. I am return'd to see my native *France*,
The place where first I saw the worldly Chance.
Tho' mean by Birth, yet Fortune this can do—
Help by the Charms of Wit and Beauty too.
Methinks my port and my illustrious Traine
Should rather move your envy than Disdaine.

" C. My envy ! no, thy meanness I despise :
Thou art a Begger still, tho' in disguise.
The noble Ladys of the Gallick Court
Will mock at your fine gaudy Train and Port :
Thy Convers and thy Company they'l scorn,
Since thou of Genteel Blood was't never born.

" P. The King's Example, Dutches, you will find,
Shall make the Ladys of this Court more kind ;
For many services for him I've done,
Which I'am sure with Kindness now will own.
I've serv'd him with my person and my Wit,
But how to tell you Madam, 'tis not fit.

" C. If you have ought for this great Monarch done,
He'l make you then some Abbess or a Nun ;
For I do find 'tis not the guise of *France*
Their Whores to noble Titles to advance,

But Usually the Royal Miss is sent
To some Religious Cloister, to repent¹.

"P. 'Tis not yet that time of Day with me,
Nor am I fallen to so low degree ;
More joyful days I yet do hope to see. }
Tho' I have here of English Guinees store,
I thither will return and get me more :
England will me a plenteous Harvest Yield,
Here to buy lands and Palaces to Build.

"C. Methinks you talk at an immodest rate,
Thou *French* She Horse-leech of the English state :
Rome used to draw its richest Treasures thence ;
The *English* Gold was chang'd to *Peter's* pence :
But now that *Rome* can draw from thence no more,
It is Enhanced by a *Gallick* ——.

"P. If I'm immodest, methinks you are Vain,
Thus Idly of my riches to Complain :
England did once to you an Harvest Yield,
Alas ! I've but the gleanings of the field.
Gold fell into your Lap with a spring tide,
But you have spent it on your Lust and Pride ;
Your time is past, thy Lust has made you old,
And to be served you now must give your gold,
Or fumble with some weak old Clergyman,
To get a spill your riot to maintain.

"C. O Madam, you must needs be very chaste,
If, as they say, the prior you embrac'd.
I laugh to hear of Chastity from you,
As if a Whore was e'er to one man true.

¹ An allusion to Françoise-Louise de la Baume-le-Blanc, Duchesse de la Valliere, the beautiful mistress of Louis XIV., who died a Carmelite nun.

I own my nature—it is brave and high ;
With Messalina I myself could Vie :
Let a dull Husband ly with her that's chaste,
I by a Prince am fit to be embrac'd.

“ *P.* Brag not ; your decay'd beauty is grown stale,
And all your Arts no longer can prevail :
I yet retain my glorious, Conquering Charms,
Whilst you are banish'd from a Monarch's Arms.
Alas, your Beauty now is in the waine !
No art can e'er renew that Face again :
Madam, the shining glories are all set,
Which makes you thus at the successor fret.

“ *C.* Dull fool ! my eyes yet sparkle and are good,
I feel a vigorous *May* yet in my blood ;
I'm sound and free from any foul disease,
Can warm a Lover and know how to please :
Whilst thou, Corrupted, scents the very room,
In spite of Essences and strong perfume.
I can't but wonder by what Magick Art
Thou e'er could'st Conquer a great Monarch's heart.
That baby's face of thine ^k, and those black eyes,
Methinks should ne'er an Heroe's love surprise.
None that had eyes e'er saw in that French face
O'er much of Beauty or of Comely grace.

“ *P.* You are my Rival, and may me despise,
But Lovers see not with your envious eyes.
If you in beauty have the greatest share,
And if that mine cannot with yours compare,

^k “ Baby face ” is in Evelyn's description of the lady's person under November 4, 1670. (Memoirs.)

My wit exceeds, and yours have prov'd but ill,
Since you're Cast off and I am courted still.

"C. When I did reign I like a Queen did show,
I sat above and saw Crown'd heads below ;
Of jewels and of gold I had such store,
I knew not how to seek or wish for more.
To me the Idols of the Court all bow'd,
I was adored by the numerous Crowd ;
Till thou wert seen, who with some Magic spell,
Some charm or philtre that was made in Hell,
Didst my great Heroe's heart then steal away,
And took by hell-bred Arts my Beautie's Prey.
This be my Comfort—I did first subdue,
They were my Leavings that were shar'd to you.

"P. It shows my Wit and Beauty had most power,
When I subdu'd your mighty Conquerour ;
And that I broke into your Beautie's Charms,
And ravished your Hero from your Arms.
I've rul'd as well as you, and my *French* pate
Has div'd into the great intreagues of State :
In Balls and Masques you revel'd out your nights,
But, Madam, I did relish state delights ;
My politiques and Arts were deeper Bred
Than ever came into your shallow Head.
Vain Pride and pleasure were the things you sought,
Whilst that from Kingdoms did employ my thought :
Statesmen did know that you were but a fool,
But they from me took Measures how to Rule.

"C. And yet I see you are turn'd off at last,
And all your cunning policies Misplac'd.

"P. You are deceiv'd, and I shall make you Mourn,
 When you shall see me, Madam, back return.
 Mind you your pleasures, game your time away,
 My business will not let me longer stay ;
 To our great Monarch I have much to say. }

"C. If back to *England* thou should'st e'er return,
 May thou become the common People's scorn ;
 May against thee the London Prentice rise,
 And may he pull out thy bewitching eyes.
 Against that time I will go learn to Curse,
 Than Pox or *Plague* Ile wish thee something worse.

What Spector's this !

"P. O Heav'ns, what have we here !
 My joynts do tremble and my soul doth fear."

The Ghost of Jane Shore to them.

"*Ghost.* Perhaps you know me not, yet take a view,
 See what I am,—I was once such as you :
 I was a whore, a Royal Mistress too.
 I was a woman of Egregious fame,
 And like you two, I gloried in my shame ;
Edward my Lord was, and Jane Shore my name.
 I liv'd in splendor and enjoy'd delights,
 Feasted all day on Love's luscious rights,
 Between a Monarch's Armes wore out the Nights :
 But when at last my happy Monarch dy'd,
 I lost my Riches, Pleasures, and my Pride,
 And all that e'er was sweet or good beside.
 Alas, remember what of me became !
 My honour stain'd, and black was all my fame ;
 Scorn of the People, to myself a shame.

A wretch I grew, wish'd I were never born,
 Poor and contemn'd, and every Rascal's scorn ;
 Unpitied dy'd, most wretched and forlorn.
 But happy had I been had this been all,
 Or if that I had had no farther fall ;
 But Hell on my misdeeds aloud did call.
 Tormented in the flames of Hell below,
 No ease from Torment, pain and endless woe,
 For pleasures past, my scorched soul doth know.
 Short were my pleasures while I lived here,
 And these were also mixt with grief and fear,
 But pain Eternal 's in the lower sphear.
 You two great Women, great in lust and sin,
 Repent, repent, and to reform begin !
 For your reward you Hell at last will win.
 Rivals, look on me and Contend no more !
 What you are now I once was long before,
 Yet I am damn'd, altho' a Royal Whore¹."

On April 6, 1683, the Earl of Northumberland was advanced to a dukedom by the same title; and on January 10 following, while in France, it may be assumed, residing with his mother, he was elected a K.G. Of the Duchess herself, during the rest of Charles's reign, we hear once only. "I can never for-

¹ London: printed for J. Smith, 1682. To the copy of the Broad-side in the library of the Society of Antiquaries (No. 591) the date "28 March" has been added in MS. The satire is to be found in "Poems on Affairs of State," 1707, iv. ff. 388—392.

get," writes Evelyn on February 8, 1684-5, when recording in his journal the death of Charles II., "the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming, and all dissoluteness, and, as it were, total forgetfulness of God, (it being Sunday evening), which this day se'nnight I was witness of the King sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, Mazarine, &c., a French boy singing love-songs in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at basset round a large table, a bank of at least £2,000 in gold before them, upon which two gentlemen who were with me made reflections in astonishment. Six days after, all was in the dust!" When at the hour of death, the King, we are told by Evelyn, "spake to the Duke of York to be kind to the Duchess of Cleveland^m," as well as to her rivals the Duchess of Portsmouth and Nelly.

^m We must remark here that neither Burnet (*History of his Own Times*, ii. f. 473,) nor Barillon (*Dalrymple*, Appendix, Part I. f. 94), mention the Duchess of Cleveland's name in their accounts of the last hours of Charles II.

The year that the Duchess lost her royal lover she gained another daughter-in-law. The Duke of Northumberland, in 1685, was married to Catherine, widow of Thomas Lucy, Esq., of Charlecote Park, in Warwickshire. He married "very meanly," according to Evelyn, whilst Narcissus Luttrell describes the lady's father as a poulterer^a. He was Robert Wheatly, of Bracknell, co. Berks. Whatever his social position might be, he disposed of another daughter to Henry Fitz-James, Grand Prior, and titular Duke of Albemarle^b, King James the Second's youngest natural son by Arabella Churchill; and yet another, Anne, to George Douglas, first Earl of Dumbarton^c, a Lieutenant-General in the army, and a gentleman of the Bedchamber to the same King. Evelyn, under March 29, 1686, says that the Duke, "with the assistance of his brother, Grafton, attempted in vain to spirit away his wife;" and Luttrell, under

^a Historical Relations of State Affairs, i. f. 373; iii. f. 39.

^b Ibid., iii. f. 39.

^c MS. List of officers and members of Hammersmith Convent, *penes* Colonel Joseph Lemuel Chester.

March 16 preceding, that the Duchess "hath been carried beyond sea against her will[¶]."

" Thus Lucy into Bondge run,
For a great name to be undone ;
Deluded with the name of Duchess,
She fell into the Lion's Clutches^{*}."

This from "Madam Le Croy." What next follows is from "A Satyr upon the Poets, being a Translation out of the Seventh Satyr of Juvenal :"—

" So Kidnapt Dutchess once beyond Gravesend,
Rejects the Counsel of recalling Friend ;
Is told the dreadful Bondge she must bear,
And sees unable to avoid the snare^{*}."

The author of "The Lovers Session," makes also an allusion to this unlucky marriage :—

" Nor ——land now to his Trial stood forth,
And pleaded the Preference due to his Birth ;
No Fool he did hope, howe'er eminent, wou'd
Presume to compare with a Fool of the Blood.

Appealing besides to his scandalous Marriage,
His beautiful Face, and his dull stupid Carriage,
To a Soul without sense of Truth, Honour, or Wit,
If e'er Man was form'd for Woman so fit.

[¶] Historical Relations of State Affairs, i. f. 373.

^{*} Poems on Affairs of State, ii. f. 154.

^{*} Ibid., f. 141.

But his Prince-like Project to Kidnap his Wife,
And a Lady so free to make Prisoner for Life,
Was Tyranny to which the Sex ne'er wou'd submit,
And an ill natur'd Fool they lik'd worse than a Wit[†]."

Leaving the Duchess Catherine for a time, turn we again to the Duchess Barbara. On January 10, 1689-90, there is no knowing wherefore, the Duke of Northumberland was honoured by William and Mary with the Order of the Garter. On September 28 following, his brother, the Duke of Grafton, Vice-Admiral of England, whilst serving as a volunteer at the siege of Cork, received a wound in the ribs, which brought his life to a close on October 9. His body rests at Euston, co. Suffolk, but the epitaph designed for his tomb by Sir Fleetwood Shepherd is not to be read on marble :—

I.

"Beneath this place
Is stow'd his Grace
The Duke of G——,
As sharp a Blade
As e'er was made,
Or e'er had Haft on.

II.

"Mark'd with a Star,
Forg'd for War,
Of Mettle true
As ever drew,
Or made a Pass
At Lad or Lass.

[†] Poems on Affairs of State, ii. f. 164.

III.

" This nat'ral son of Mars
 Ne're hung an Arse,
 Or turn'd his Tail,
 Tho' shot like Hail

IV.

" Flew 'bout his Ears,
 Through Pikes and Spears
 So thick they hid the Sun,
 He'd boldly lead them on,
 More like a Devil than
 a Man.

V.

" He valued not the Balls
 of Gun,
 He ne'er would dread
 Shot made of Lead
 Or Cannon Ball,
 Nothing at all.

VI.

" Yet a Bullet of *Cork*
 Soon did his Work,
 Unhappy Pellet,
 With Grief I tell it,
 It has undone
 Great Cæsar's Son :
 A Statesman spoil'd,
 A Soldier foil'd,
 G—— rot him
 That shot him.
 A Son of a Whore :
 I say no more^u."

The principal events in this nobleman's life, not already narrated, may be summed up in these words. He was in several naval expeditions under Sir John Bury. In 1682, he was appointed Vice-Admiral of England. At the Coronation of James II. he performed

^u Poems on Affairs of State, ii. ff. 259, 260.

the office of Lord High Constable of England. A few days before the Battle of Sedgemoor, at which he was present, being sent on by the Earl of Feversham in command of a detachment of foot-guards to Philips Norton, where the Duke of Monmouth was posted; he had been cut off by the rebel horse, but for the Earl's mounted grenadiers, who came up in time to disperse them^x. On February 2, 1685-6, he slew in a duel the Hon. John Talbot^y, brother to Charles, Earl of Shrewsbury, K.G. In July, 1687, he, with a squadron of ships of war, carried the Queen of Portugal from Rotterdam to Lisbon. On November 17, 1688, with other lords spiritual and temporal, he signed a petition to the King, asking him to call a Parliament; having the day before concocted, with Lord Churchill, a scheme to betray him into the hands of the

^x King James II. to the Prince of Orange, July 3, 1685. (Dalrymple, Appendix, Part I., ff. 131, 132.)

^y "As for news, the Duke of Grafton had this morning the misfortune to kill Jack Talbot, the Earl of Shrewsbury's brother; it was Talbot gave the first offence, and sent the challenge, as I am told. The Duke of Grafton is withdrawn, and I have not yet heard what the coroner's inquest have found it." (King James II. to the Prince of Orange, February 2, 1685-6; Dalrymple, Appendix, Part I., f. 163.)

Prince of Orange. On the 23rd of the same month, with this same lord, he joined the invading army of the Prince. In the naval engagement off Beachey-Head, June 30, 1690, he carried himself bravely*. To these notices of him, we may add that his full-length portrait by Kneller, in robes of the Order of the Garter, is at Euston, and that there are six mezzo-tinto engravings from other portraits of him: one, by Beckett after Hawker, a full-length, in peer's robes; two by the same hand after Kneller, one of these, a three-quarter-length, with a ship at sea; one by Schenck, representing the Duke in armour; one by Dunkarton; and one, a half-length, by an unknown engraver (Cooper, exc.)

From a circumstance that occurred in the Duchess's family, in 1691, it would appear that she had before then returned to the seat of her splendour, — a mansion built by herself, as we have said, upon the Berkshire estate, and known as Cleveland House. On March 30, 1691, the Lady Barbara Fitz-

* Queen Mary to King William, July 1st, 1690; Dalrymple, Appendix, Part II., f. 131.

roy, the youngest daughter of the Duchess of Cleveland, was in it delivered of a son; and James, Earl of Arran, a widower of a few months,—he who afterwards, when fourth Duke of Hamilton and K.G., fell in the memorable duel with Lord Mohun,—was the boy's father. At the birth of the child, its father was confined for a second time in the Tower, on account of the second conspiracy against King William. "Queen Mary and the Duke of Hamilton," the Earl's father, "incensed at the discovery of this intrigue," says Sir Robert Douglas, "made the retreat of Lady Barbara to the Continent the principal condition of his release. The lady accordingly withdrew to the monastery of Pontoise, where she died^a." But this last event was not during her mother's life.

In 1691—1696 the Duchess of Cleveland,

^a *Peerage of Scotland* (by Wood), 1813, i. f. 720 (note). Charles Hamilton, Lady Barbara's son, as Douglas informs us, resided with the Duchess of Cleveland at Chiswick, and afterwards at the Court of James VII. at St. Germain's, where he was held in great estimation, and where he died. He was the author of "Transactions during the Reign of Queen Anne, from the Union to the Death of that Princess," 1790.

no longer able, from want of means, to occupy Cleveland House, is known to have been residing in Arlington-street, Piccadilly^b. During this time she received into her family the authoress of the "New Atalantis," and continued a disreputable connection with another actor, Cardell Goodman, a coadjutor of her former player-friend twenty years before at the King's Theatre. The liaison here referred to, we have evidence to shew, extended over some years. When the Duchess, by indenture dated January 15, 1686-7, granted the reversion of her two-thirds of the manor of Woking, &c., to her son, the Duke of Grafton, her signature, hereunder represented,



was witnessed, amongst others, by Cardell Goodman^c. "This woman," thus disrespectfully

^b Cunningham's Handbook of London, f. 18.

^c Original deed at Dorney Court, before mentioned.

writes Oldmixon^d of the lady Duchess, "was so infamous in her amours, that she made no scruple of owning her lovers; among whom was Goodman the player, who so narrowly escaped the gallows some years after; and the fellow was so insolent upon it, that, one night when the Queen [Mary II.] was at the Theatre, and the curtain as usual was immediately ordered to be drawn up, Goodman cry'd, 'Is my Duchess come?' and being answered, 'No,' he swore terribly, the curtain should not be drawn till the Duchess came, which was at the instant, and sav'd the affront to the Queen." The player acted in the Assassination plot of 1696, and turning King's evidence to escape the gallows, got away into France before the trials of his fellow conspirators^e, and was heard of no more. Hart had quitted the stage of life in 1683^f.

The Author of "Madam Le Croy" (written in the lifetime of Henry, Duke of Grafton)

^d History of England during the Reign of the Royal House of Stewart, ii. f. 576.

^e The Autobiography of Sir John Bramston, K.B., ff. 393, 399.

^f Cunningham's Story of Nell Gwyn, f. 150.

does not overlook the Duchess's connection with the actor :—

“ With wither'd Hand and wrinkled Brow
Cleveland, in Rage, comes next to know
What desperate Tatterdemallion
Should next vouchsafe to be her Stallion.
But, by the Wrinkles on her Brow,
She's told her Charms quite fail her now ;
And since she coupled with a Strowler,
Her next Admirer must be *Jawler* [¶].”

Mrs. Manley tells us, in her “ Adventures of Rivella,” her own history, how the Duchess, during her sojourn near her residence and under her roof, carried herself. De la Riviere, one of the three daughters and co-heirs of Sir Roger Manley, Knight, had been, through the means of a fictitious marriage, seduced, and had had a child by her cousin, John Manley, Esq., M.P., first for Truro and then for Bossiney, Surveyor-General also to Queen Anne, and was living in London deserted by her betrayer, when the Duchess, in the year 1693, calling upon a lady of their mutual acquaintance, who resided in the next house to hers, became per-

[¶] Poems on Affairs of State, ii. f. 155.

sonally acquainted with the future authoress. Her story being told, "Hilaria," so the Duchess is named, "passionately fond of new Faces, of which Sex soever, us'd a thousand Arguments to dissuade her from wearing away her Bloom in grief and Solitude. She read her a learned Lecture upon the Ill-nature of the World, that wou'd never restore a Woman's Reputation, how innocent soever she really were, if Appearances prov'd to be against her; therefore she gave her Advice, which she did not disdain to Practise; the *English* of which was, *To make her self as happy as she could, without valuing or regretting those, by whom it was impossible to be valu'd.* THE Lady at whose House *Rivella* first became acquainted with *Hilaria*, perceived her Indiscretion in bringing them together. The Love of Novelty, as usual, so far prevailed, that herself was immediately discarded, and *Rivella* perswaded to take up her Residence near *Hilaria's*; which made her so inveterate an Enemy to *Rivella*, that the first great Blow struck against her Reputation, proceeded from that Woman's malicious Tongue: She was not contented to tell all

Persons, who began to know and esteem *Rivella*, that her Marriage was a Cheat, but even sent Letters by the Penny-Post to make *Hilaria* jealous of *Rivella's* Youth, in respect of him who at that time happen'd to be her Favourite.

"RIVELLA has often told me, That from *Hilaria* she received the first ill Impressions of Count *Fortunatus*^h, touching his Ingratitude, Immorality and Avarice; being her self an Eye-Witness when he deny'd *Hilaria* (who had given him thousands) the Common Civility of lending her Twenty guineas at *Basset*; which together with betraying his Master, and raising himself by his Sister's Dishonour, she had always esteem'd a just and flaming Subject for Satire.

"RIVELLA had now reign'd six Months in *Hilaria's* Favour, an Age to one of her inconstant Temper; when that Lady found out a new Face, to whom the old must give Place, and such a one, of whom she could not justly have any Jealousie in point of Youth or Agreeableness; the Person I speak of, was a Kitchen-

^h "D—— of M——gh." (Key at end of edition of 1717.)

Maid married to her Masterⁱ, who had been refug'd with King *James* in *France*. He dy'd and left her what he had, which was quickly squander'd at Play; but she gain'd Experience enough by it to make gaming her Livelihood, and return'd into *England* with the monstrous Affectation of calling her self a *French-woman*; her Dialect being thence-forward nothing but a sort of broken *English*: This passed upon the Town, because her Original was so obscure, that they were unacquainted with it. She generally ply'd at Madam *Mazarin's Basset-Table*, and was also of use to her in Affairs of Pleasure; but whether that Lady grew weary of her Impertinence, and strange ridiculous Airs, or that she thought *Hilaria* might prove a better Bubble, she profited of the Advances that were made her, and accepted of an Invitation to come and take up her Lodging at *Hilaria's* House, where in a few Months she repay'd the Civility that had been shewn her, by clapping up a clandestine Match between her Patroness's eldest Son^k, a Person

ⁱ "Pretended Madam Beauclair." (Key.)

^k "Duke of C——nd and S——ton." (Key.)

tho' of weak Intellects, yet of great Consideration, and a young Lady¹ of little or no Fortune.

"BUT to return to *Rivella*. *Hilaria* was tir'd, & resolv'd to take the first Opportunity to be rude to her: She knew her Spirit would not easily forgive any Point of Incivility or Disrespect.

"*HILARIA* was *Querilous, Fierce, Loquacious*, excessively fond, or infamously rude: When she was disgusted with any Person, she never fail'd to reproach them with all the Bitterness and Wit she was Mistress of, with such Malice and Ill-nature, that she was hated not only by all the world, but by her own Children and Family; not one of her Servants, but what would have laugh'd to see her dead amongst them, how affecting soever such Objects are in any other Case. The Extreames of *Prodigality* and *Covetousness*; of *Love* and *Hatred*; of *Dotage* and *Aversion*, were joyn'd together in *Hilaria's* Soul.

"*RIVELLA* may well call it her second great Misfortune to have been acquainted with that Lady, who, to excuse her own Inconstancy,

¹ "Late Lady Poultney's daughter, D—ss ditto." (Key.)

always blasted the Character of those whom she was grown weary of, as if by *Slander* and *Scandal* she could take the Odium from her self, and fix it upon others.

"SOME few days before *Hilaria* was resolved to part with *Rivella*, to make Room for the Person who was to succeed her, she pretended a more than ordinary Passion, caused her to quit her Lodgings to come and take part of her own Bed. *Rivella* attributed this *Feint* of Kindness to the Lady's Fears lest she should see the Man *Hilaria* was in Love with^m at more Ease in her own House than when she was in hers; tho' that beloved Person had always a *Hatred* and Distrust of *Rivella*. He kept a Mistress in the next Street", in as much grandeur as his Lady: He fear'd she would come to the Knowledge of it by this new and young Favourite, whose Birth and Temper put her above the Hopes of bringing her into his Interest, as he took care all others should be that approached *Hilaria*. He resolved, how dishonourable soever the

^m "Mr. Goodman, the player." (Key.)

ⁿ "Mrs. Wilson, of the Pope's Head Tavern, Cornhill." (Key.)

Procedure were, to ruin Rivella, for fear she should ruin him ; and therefore told his Lady she had made Advances to him, which for her Ladyship's sake he had rejected ; this agreed with the unknown Intelligence that had been sent by the Penny-Post ; but because she was not yet provided with any Lady that would be her Favourite in *Rivella's* Place, she took no notice of her Fears, but Politickly chose to give her a great and lovely Amusement ; it was with one of her own Sons, whom she caress'd more than usual to draw him oftner to her House, leaving them alone together upon such plausible Pretences, as seem'd the Effect of Accident, not Design : What might have proceeded from so dangerous a Temptation, I dare not presume to determine, because *Hilaria* and *Rivella's* Friendship immediately broke off upon the Assurance the former had receiv'd from the broken *French-woman*, that she would come and supply her Place.

“ THE last day she was at *Hilaria's* House, just as they sat down to Dinner, *Rivella* was told that her Sister *Maria's* Husband was fallen into great Distress, which so sensibly

affected her, that she could eat nothing; she sent Word to a Friend, who could give her an Account of the whole Matter, that she would wait upon her at Six a Clock at Night, resolving not to lose that Post, if it were true that her Sister was in Misfortune, without sending her some Relief. After Dinner several Ladies came in to Cards; *Hilaria* asked *Rivella* to play; she begg'd her Ladyship's Excuse, because she had Business at Six a Clock; they persuaded her to play for Two Hours, which accordingly she did, and then had a Coach sent for and return'd not till Eight: she had been inform'd abroad that Matters were very well compos'd touching her Sister's Affairs, which extreamly lightned her Heart; she came back in a very good Humour, and very hungry, which she told *Hilaria*, who, with Leave of the first Dutchess in *England*^o that was then at Play, order'd Supper to be immediately got ready, for that her dear *Rivella* had eat nothing

^o "Late Duchess of Norfolk." (Key.) Lady Mary Mordaunt, daughter and sole heiress of Henry, Earl of Peterborough, K.G., and wife of Henry, Duke of Norfolk, K.G., divorced for adultery with Sir John Germain, Bart., 1700. The Duke had moved for an Act of Parliament for dissolving his marriage in 1695.

all Day. As soon as they were set to Table, *Rivella* repeated those Words again, that she was very hungry; *Hilaria* told her she was glad of it: *There were some things which got one a good Stomach.* *Rivella* ask'd her Ladyship what those things were? *Hilaria* answer'd, 'Don't you know what? That which 'you have been doing with my ——' [and named her own Son,] 'Nay, don't blush, *Rivella*; 'twas 'doubtless an Appointment; I saw him to Day 'Kiss you as he lead you thro' the dark Drawing-Room down to Dinner.' 'Your Ladyship 'may have seen him attempt it, answer'd *Rivella*, '[perfectly frighted with her Words,] 'and 'seen me refuse the Honour.' 'But why' [reply'd *Hilaria*] 'did you go out in a Hackney-Coach, 'without a Servant?' 'Because' [says *Rivella*] 'my Visit lay a great Way off, too far for your 'Ladyship's Chairmen to go: It rain'd, and 'does still rain extreamly: I was tender of 'your Ladyship's Horses this cold wet Night; 'both the Footmen were gone on Errands; 'I ask'd below for one of them, I was too well 'Manner'd to take the *Black*, and leave none 'to attend your Ladyship; especially when

‘my Lady Dutchess was here : Besides, your
‘own Porter paid the Coachman, which was
‘the same I carried out with me ; he was forc’d
‘to wait some Time at the gate, till a guinea
‘could be chang’d, because I had no Silver ;
‘I beg all this good Company to judge, whether
‘woman would be so indiscreet, knowing very
‘well, as I do, that I have one Friend in this
‘House, that would not fail examining the
‘Coachman, where he had carried me, if it
‘were but in hopes of doing me a Prejudice
‘with the World and your Ladyship.’

“THE Truth is, *Hilaria* was always superstitious at Play ; she won whilst *Rivella* was there, and would not have her remov’d from the Place she was in, thinking she brought her good Luck : After she was gone, her Luck turn’d ; so that before *Rivella* came back, *Hilaria* had lost above two hundred guineas, which put her into a Humour to expose *Rivella* in the Manner you have heard ; who briskly rose up from Table without eating any Thing, begging her Ladyship’s Leave to retire, whom she knew to be so great a Mistress of Sense, as well as of good Manners,

that she would never have affronted any Person at her own Table, but one whom she held unworthy of the Honour of sitting there.

“NEXT morning she wrote a Note to *Hilaria's* Son, to desire the Favour of seeing him; he accordingly obey'd. *Rivella* desir'd him to acquaint my Lady where he was last Night, from Six till Eight; he told her at the Play in the side Box with the Duke of —— whom he would bring to justify what he said: I^p chanc'd to come in to drink Tea with the Ladies; *Rivella* told me her Distress; I was mov'd at it, and the more, because I had been my self at the Play, and saw the Person, for whom she was accus'd, set the Play out: In a word *Rivella* waited till *Hilaria* was visible, and then went to take her Leave of her with such an Air of Resentment, Innocence, yet good Manners, as quite confounded the haughty *Hilaria*.

“FROM that day forwards she never saw her

^p Sir Charles Lovemore, said in the Key to be Lieut.-General Tidcomb, by whom the Adventures are “deliver'd in a Conversation.” One night, he says, “I happen'd to call in at Madam Mazarin's, where I saw *Rivella* introduc'd by *Hilaria*, a Royal Mistress of one of our preceding Kings.” (ff. 29, 30.)

more ; too happy indeed if she had never seen her : All the World was fond of *Rivella*, and enquiring for her of *Hilaria*, she could make no other Excuse for her own abominable Temper, and detestable Inconstancy, but that she was run away with —— her Son, and probably would not have the Assurance ever to appear at her House again^a."

During the time her Grace resided in Arlington-street, we have only to record one additional event concerning her, the second marriage of her eldest son. In the month of November, 1694, the Duke of Southampton was united—clandestinely, we have just been informed—to Anne, daughter of Sir William Pulteney, of Miskerton, co. Leicester, Knight, M.P. for Westminster, 1680, and a Commissioner of the Privy Seal under William III., grandfather of William, Earl of Bath,—a match for him of no greater importance than that which he had made before. If, in 1697, she had removed to another residence, we have no information as to its situation. A power of attorney was signed by the

^a Edition 1714, ff. 31—40.

Duchess on June 17, 1703, to * * *^r; the signature seems to tell of the "withered hand" mentioned in "Madam Le Croy." Our facsimile of it, given below, should be compared with that before produced, taken from the indenture of January 15, 1686-7,—



On July 21, 1705, death withdrew, not from her but the world, Roger, Earl of Castlemaine. He died at Oswestry, co. Salop, and his remains were consigned to the grave at Welch Pool, co. Montgomery, the burial-place of his mother's family. This nobleman, born at Dorney Court, September 3, 1634, received his education at Eton and at King's College, Cambridge^s; and, as before said, in 1656 was entered at the Inner Temple. When he separated

^r Dorney Court muniments. The power has been mislaid.

^s The Pedigree of the Ancient Family of the Palmers of Sussex, f. 8.

from his wife, he obtained a bond, dated July 16, 1662, engaging the Earl of Suffolk and Viscount Grandison in the sum of £10,000, to indemnify him "from all and every manner of debts, contracts, sum and sums of money now due, or that hereafter shall grow due from any contract or bargain made by y^e Right Hon^{ble} Barbara, Countess of Castlemaine, or by any person or persons authorised by her," without his express consent or direction[†]; and presently after proceeded on his travels. In 1664, he accompanied the Venetian General, Andrea Cornaro, to Candia, then besieged by the Turks, and returning to England, took part in the battle of Solebay, June 3, 1665. In 1668, he accompanied Sir Daniel Harvey, Ambassador to the Porte, from Leghorne to Constantinople, and afterwards visited Syria, Palestine, and some parts of Africa, and, indeed, almost every place of note in Europe. On October 24, 1678, he was accused before the House of Commons, by Titus Otes, of being a priest of the Order of Jesus, of having obtained a divorce from his wife, and of having, in his

[†] Dorney Court muniments.

hearing, wished success to the Popish plot. The "divorce" Otes had seen "about November or December last in the hands of Richard Strange, late Provincial of the Jesuits in England". On November 2, 1679, he was committed to the Tower on account of the meal-tub plot; and on June 23, 1680, tried for high treason and acquitted. In 1686, he was sent Ambassador to Pope Innocent XI.^{*} and on being recalled, the following year was appointed of the Privy Council. On October 28, 1689, he was again sent to the Tower, impeached by the Commons of high treason in going Ambassador to Rome, but on February 10 following obtained his discharge on bail, himself in £10,000 and four sureties in £5,000 each.[†] From the benefit of the Act of In-

^{*} The Earl of Castlemaine's Manifesto, f. 7.

[†] In "Poems on Affairs of State," ii. ff. 402, 403, are some lines on the Earl of Castlemaine's embassy to Rome in King James the Second's Reign, 1687. There is a splendid folio of Lord Castlemaine's embassy from King James II. to Pope Innocent XII., compiled by Michael Wright, the Earl's secretary; the first edition, in Italian, published in Rome, 1687; the second, in English, 1688. Prefixed to both is a portrait of the Ambassador kissing the Pope's toe, engraved by Westerhout from a painting by G. B. Leonard.

[‡] Howell's State Trials, xii., column 597.

demnity of May 23, 1690, he was excepted; and on July 4, Queen Mary issued a proclamation for his apprehension, in which he, with others, is accused of concerting the invasion of England.

Lord Castlemaine was a most accomplished linguist^{*}, "a learned person, well versed in the mathematics[†]," and a mechanic; he was, moreover, a rather voluminous writer. In Walpole's "Royal and Noble Authors" (by Park), we have a list of his works:—1. "An Account of the present War betwixt the Venetians and the Turks, with the state of Candie, in a Letter to the King from Venice," 1666; portrait in large wig, engraved by Faithorne. 2. "A Short and True Account of the Material Passages in the late War betwixt the English and Dutch," 1671; same engraving. "The Earl of Castlemaine's Manifesto," 1681; same engraving. "The English Globe, being a stable and immobil one, performing what ordinary Globes do, and much

^{*} The Pedigree of the Ancient Family of the Palmers of Sussex, f. 8.

[†] Boyer, the History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne (Appendix, Annual List of the Deaths, &c.), f. 39.

more. Invented and described by the Right Hon. the Earl of Castlemaine," 1679. "An Apology in behalf of the Papists," 1666. This pamphlet, being answered by the Rev. William Lloyd, Bishop afterwards of St. Asaph, Lichfield and Coventry, and Worcester, the Earl, assisted by Robert Pugh, a secular priest, issued "A Reply to the Answer of the Catholic Apology, or a Clear Vindication of the Catholics of England," 1668. "The Compendium, or a short view of the Trials in relation to the present Plot, &c.," 1679. The three last are anonymous*.

By his will†, dated November 30, 1696, and proved October 25, 1705, he appoints "my Lady Ann, now Countess of Sussex, and John Jenyns, of Heys, in the county of Middlesex, Esq.," his trustees. He leaves to Lady Sussex his messuages or dwelling-houses, &c., in the Savoy, near the Strand, and his leaseholds in the county of Monmouth (held for three lives of the Earl of Pembroke), and all his plate, jewels,

* v. f. 212. *

† It is printed *in extenso* in *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, i. ff. 151—154, and in the *Pedigree of the Ancient Family of the Palmers of Sussex*, ff. 24—28.

and other personalty, she paying a certain life annuity of £60 therein mentioned. He does not here claim the Lady Anne as his daughter by name.

There is a full-length portrait of Lord Castlemaine, in a red cloak and wearing a large wig, on his legs dictating to his secretary, Michael Wright, in the possession of Earl Powis. A half-length portrait, by Kneller, formerly at Strawberry Hill, has been engraved for Walpole's "Royal and Noble Authors" (by Park). The Earl is here represented in a wig and wearing a mantle.

A third portrait is in the gallery of Sir Charles James Palmer, Bart. It is a three-quarter length. Lord Castlemaine is standing, wearing his favourite wig, and his sword is sustained by a shoulder-belt. It has been engraved for his work of 1666, and by Vanden Berghe for Harding's "Grammont."

The Earl of Castlemaine had been dead just four months when his widow bestowed her hand upon Major-General Robert Feilding, residing in lodgings in Pall Mall, in the parish of St. James, Westminster. This

gentleman, called Beau Feilding and Handsome Feilding, was the eldest son of George Feilding, Esq., of Hillfield Hall, Solehull, co. Warwick, by Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Shirley, Knight, of Weston, co. Sussex; who was the son of George, son of Ferdinand, younger brother of Sir William, of Newnham Paddox, same county; grandfather of William, created, September 14, 1622, Earl of Denbigh^b. He was consequently descended from the Counts of Hapsburg, in the German Empire. Anne, one of his sisters, born in 1661, became the third wife of Sir Samuel Morland. The Beau was born in 1656, and on July 15, 1672, at the age of sixteen, was matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford. In his youth he had a regiment in the service of the Emperor Leopold I., as he had afterwards in that of his own country^c. He was in favour with James II., who, in 1685, presented him with £500 bounty^d, and he landed in Ireland with that monarch on March 12, 1689-90^e. Before he aspired to the

^b Segar's Baronagium (MS. Coll. Arm.), ii. f. 440.

^c Pulman, M.S., J. P. (Coll. Arm.), vi. f. 353.

^d Secret Service Expences of Charles II. and James II., f. 116.

^e Smollett's England, 1841, i. f. 34.

hand of the Lady Duchess, he had married two other heiresses,—the Hon. Mary Swift, only daughter of Barnham, Viscount Carlingford, who died *s.p.* —, 1682; and Lady Margaret de Burgh, only daughter of Ulick, Marquess of Clanricarde; widow of Charles, Viscount Muskerry, son of Donogh, first Earl of Clancarty, killed in the battle of Solebay June 3, 1665, and of Robert Villiers, third Viscount Purbeck (so called), killed in a duel at Liege, 1684; who died in great distress^f August —, 1698, also *s.p.* This lady was the Babylonian Princess of the “*Mémoires du Comte de Grammont*.” At the time of his marriage to the Duchess he was a man of desperate fortune and of desperate character. Boyer, speaking of it, says that “she pay’d dear for her Fancy; for he used her very ill, and not being content with the plentiful Allowance she made him out of her constant income, of a hundred Pounds a week, paid her out of the Post Office, he would have divested her of all, even to the necessary Furniture of her House, had not her

^f Hasted’s History of Kent, 1778—99, ii. f. 341.

^g Tome ii. 22.

Sons, and particularly the Duke of Grafton, her grandson, stood by her^b."

This misery she had not very long to endure. It was discovered, fortunately for her Grace, that a few days before his marriage to her, viz. on November 9, the Beau had provided himself with a wife in the person of one Mary Wadsworth; and accordingly, on December 4, 1706,—a few days more than a year after his two marriages,—he was placed upon his trial for bigamy at the Old Bailey, when the Court suspended the judgment till the next session, and accepted bail for his appearance. From the printed proceedings of this memorable trialⁱ, we learn that, in 1705, a Mr. Deleau, of Cophthall-court, in the city, and of Waddon, in the parish of Croydon, Surrey, died, leaving a young widow with a reputed fortune of £60,000^k. The Beau, having a design to

^b Annals, viii. ff. 389, 390.

ⁱ Howell's State Trials, xiv., columns 1327—1372.

^k The will of John Deleau, of St. Bartholomew by the Exchange, merchant, is dated January 11, 1702-3. He leaves to his wife £15,000, all his plate, jewels, coaches, horses, and other personal matters, with an annuity of £250. The testator appears to have been of French extraction, and to have died *s.p.*; his executors renouncing, the relict administered May 21, 1705. The house occupied by Mrs. Deleau at

obtain possession of this prize, engaged a Mrs. Streights, who knew a Mrs. Charlotte Villars in the service of a woman employed by Mrs. Deleau to cut her hair,—so far off was he from a personal introduction to the lady,—to bring him, through the intervention of her friend, into an acquaintance with the object of his desire. About September 4, he called at Mrs. Deleau's country house under the pretence of seeing the gardens, but with the intention of exhibiting his fine person before its occupier¹. Having failed in this object, three days later he informed Mrs. Villars that the Duchess of Cleveland had expressed a great desire to see a place so much lauded by him, and requested her to carry the intelligence to Mrs. Deleau, and to inform her of the Duchess's wish to pay a visit to Waddon. This message, duly de-

Waddon there is little doubt was that burned down between 1801 and 1811, and never rebuilt. In the garden of the house next to the site of it, on the north, erected in 1750, is a mulberry-tree, under which, tradition says, the Duchess of Cleveland once sat. Inf. Mrs. Alan Kingscote Cornwall. She may have paid Mrs. Deleau a visit when collecting evidence for the prosecution of her husband. The land-tax assessment-books for Croydon commence only in 1729.

¹ The sun-dial mentioned in the trial, stood in the memory of the living in the garden which, on the destruction of Mrs. Deleau's house, became annexed to that on its south.

livered to the lady, was a mere invention of the Beau's, and when Mrs. Villars discovered the cheat, she determined to play trick for trick, and to impose upon the deceiver her friend Mary Wadsworth as the rich widow, and in this she, wonderful to tell, succeeded. On November 9, 1705, these parties were married at the bridegroom's lodgings in the presence of Mrs. Villars, by a Roman Catholic priest from the residence of the German Envoy, and it was not until the end of May following that the Beau discovered the imposition practised upon him. In the meanwhile—viz. on November 25, seventeen days only after his marriage in Pall Mall—he had become, in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields,—doubtless in the Duchess's house in Arlington-street, and by the aid of another Popish priest—the husband of her Grace of Cleveland. The discovery of the cheat that had been played her was made three weeks after that practised upon the Beau, and was brought about by Mrs. Feilding and Mrs. Villars, who waited upon the Duke of Grafton and communicated to him their histories. Then quickly

followed the separation and the criminal indictment, involving a question of life and death.

At the trial the Duchess exhibited the wedding-ring of Mrs. Feilding, with seven letters addressed to that lady as "the Right Honourable the Countess of Feilding," and subscribed "Feilding" only, all within a month of their marriage. The first, dated "Nov^r the 14th, 1705" (Wednesday), "To the best of Wives, Ann, Countess of Feilding, att Waddon;" the second, "Tuesday morn," (20th); the third, "Saturday morn" (24th), "To my better halfe the Countesse of Feilding;" the fourth, "Nov^r the 27th, 1705" (Tuesday), two days after his marriage to the Duchess, "I am oblig'd to be att her Graces to-morrow all the afternoon, and till late att night;" fifth, "Tuesday morn" (December 4), "I have not lain at my lodgings since I saw my dear Wife, and this weeke shall leave them altogeather to lye at her Graces:" "to the Right Hon^{ble} the Countess of Feilding;" sixth, "Fryday" (December 7), would have returned his "dear Wife's favour long before now, but Lady Duchesses sickness

on one hand," &c., had not given him a moment to write "to my dearest wife the Countesse of Feilding;" seventh, "Sunday night" (December 9), "To the Right Hon^{ble} the Countesse of Feilding^m."

These letters were addressed, as Feilding supposed, to a woman of birth, wealth, and fashionⁿ. The three first are so abominably indecent, that it is marvellous how he could have penned them, as he thought he did, to a lady,—how they could have been read in Court,—and how the Lady Duchess could have brought them before the Court, and have renewed their custody.

On January 15, Feilding appeared again at the Old Bailey, and having prayed the benefit of his clergy, and exhibited the Queen's warrant

^m By the courtesy of the Right Hon. Sir Robert John Phillimore, D.C.L., Official Principal of the Court of Arches, we have been favoured with copies of these letters from the records of his office. They have, it has since come to our knowledge, been printed in "Cases of Divorce," 1723, ff. 41—51.

ⁿ The lady who so innocently played a conspicuous part in the trial for bigamy was Ann, daughter of Sir John Lethieullier, of Sutton-place, Sutton-at-Hone, Kent, Knight, Sheriff of London 1674. She married, secondly, Sir William Dodwell, of Sevenhampton, co. Gloucester, and of Red Lion-square, Holborn, Knight, and was buried at Croydon, October 9, 1719.

to suspend the burning in the hand, was admitted to bail. The Duchess next instituted a cause of nullity of marriage against Feilding in the Arches Court, when, on May 23, 1707, the Official Principal of the Court, at Doctors Commons, in the presence of the Dukes of Northumberland and Grafton, the Earls of Lichfield, Sussex, and Jersey, and the Viscount Quarendon, pronounced, decreed, and declared, that the most noble Lady Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland, was, and is, free from any bond of marriage with Robert Feilding, and had and hath the liberty and freedom of marrying with any other person.

We may now bury the Major-General—Swift's Orlando the Fair^o—in the church of

* See his papers in the "Tatler," No. 50, August 2, and No. 51, August 6, 1709. We may give Orlando's first speech to "the beautiful Villaria" when he sought her hand *and fortune*, from No. 50: "Madam, it is only that nature has made us two the most accomplished of each sex, and pointed to us to obey her in becoming one; but that there is also an ambition in following the mighty persons you have favoured. Where kings and heroes as great as Alexander, or such as could personate Alexander, have bowed, permit your General to lay his laurels." The same author, in his list of persons who made themselves contemptible in some action of their lives, introduces amongst them "Beau Fielding at fifty years old, when in a quarrel on the stage he was run into his breast, which he opened and shewed

St. Martin-in-the-Fields. His mortal remains were deposited there on May 16, 1712, and, it may be, near to those of another whose name has come down to us linked with that of the Duchess—Sir Edward Hungerford, the spendthrift. By his will, dated April 29, a few days before his death, as Robert Feilding, Esq., of Feilding Hall, co. Warwick^p, he confirms the indenture of the 21st instant, appointing Henry Eyres, of Gray's Inn, Esq., and John Cotton, of Cutler's Hall, gentleman, trustees to recover all sums due to him as administrator of his late wife, Margaret, Viscountess Purbeck, from estates of the late and present Earls of Clanricarde. He leaves legacies to his sisters, Mrs. Elizabeth Palmer, widow, and Mrs. Mary Gifford, widow. To his sisters, Katherine Brown

to the ladies that he might move their love and pity, but they all fell a-laughing." Villaria's beauty is alluded to in the "Tatler," No. 61, August 29, 1709.

^p By this name he chose to call the seat of his ancestors. Hillfield Hall is still in existence. From a photograph most obligingly furnished to us by the Rev. Patrick Murray Smythe, M.A., Rector of Solihull, we are able to describe it as a very interesting brick building, with stone-mullioned windows and embattled towers, partly covered with ivy. It is now the property of Francis Edward Williams, Esq.

The date of Feilding's baptism has been vainly sought for in the church register.

and Dorothy Warburton, widow, one shilling each, they having been very vexatious. To his brother, William Feilding and his son William, one shilling each also. All his manors, lands, &c., whether at Lutterworth, co. Leicester, or elsewhere, and all residue to "my dear and loving wife Mary Feilding," whom he appoints sole executrix, and who proved his will, to which his signature is "Feilding" only, on May 13, 1712. The Probate act describes him as "late of Feilding Hall, co. Warwick, Esq., but deceased in parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Westminster."

Four portraits of the Beau have been engraved in mezzo-tinto. One, by Van Vaart after Lely, a three-quarter length in Roman dress; one by Beckett after Kneller, a three-quarter length in armour, ship at sea; two by Beckett after Wissing, the first a three-quarter length in Roman dress, with hand on dog; the second a half-length, in cuirass and lace dress, 1671⁹.

The few remaining years of the Duchess's

⁹ The first-mentioned Wissing has been reproduced with an older face, the second has been re-engraved, reduced, and reversed.

life seem to have been past at Chiswick. According to Douglas, she had under her roof there her daughter Barbara's natural son, Charles Hamilton, and beyond this we have no intelligence to transfer to our pages in relation to her doings in her country retreat. "The Duchess fell ill," says Boyer, "of a Dropsie, which swelled her gradually to a monstrous bulk, and in about three months put a period to her life at her House at Chiswick in the 69th year of her age^r." This event occurred on Sunday, October 9, 1709.

By the kindness of the Vicar of Chiswick, the Rev. Lawford William Torriano Dale, M.A., who has searched the church rate-books of his parish during the years commencing in 1690 and ending in 1709, we are able to state that no record is to be found of the Duchess's residence in that locality, and it is therefore conclusive that she could only have resided at Chiswick as the occupier of a furnished residence. Her Grace's eldest son, the Duke of Cleveland and Southampton, occurs in 1723—1728 as contribut-

^r Boyer's Annals, viii. f. 390.

ing £1 10s. od. to the church-rate; and in 1728—1730, 1, the words "now empty" are added after the name, and the £1 10s. od. appears in the list of "arrearages," or unpaid amounts. The house occupied by his Grace was in the town, which means Chiswick in contradistinction to Turnham Green and Sutton, and the Mall being the only part of the parish containing a house large enough for the residence of a person of his importance, Mr. Dale is disposed to assign Walpole House—so named from a former resident, the Hon. Thomas Walpole, who died in 1703—to his Grace and to his mother. It is still standing, divided into two tenements, and the chief part includes the old and noble reception-rooms.

On October 13, her remains were, pursuant to her desire, carried to the church of her parish and therein buried, her pall being borne by James, Duke of Ormond, K.G.; James, Duke of Hamilton, K.G., Charles Hamilton's father; Algernon, Earl of Essex; Henry, Earl of Grantham; Frederick William, Earl of Liford (so-called); and William, Lord Berkeley

of Stratton : but no inscribed stone was placed above them to mark the spot.

By her will, dated August 11, 1709, and proved the day after her death, the Duchess of Cleveland gave to her daughter Anne, Countess of Sussex, her striking watch, with gold chain, seals, and other things belonging to them. To her daughter Charlotte, Countess of Lichfield, the picture of herself and the Earl of Lichfield, her husband, drawn together, and the picture of her grandson, Lord Quarendon, with the great bloodstone. To her grandchild, Lady Barbara Lennard, a gold snuff-box and a little pair of diamond earrings. To her grandchild, Lady Anne Lennard, a gold étui, and the chain thereunto belonging. To her son Charles, Duke of Southampton, £100 for mourning for himself and his children. To her son George, Duke of Northumberland, her ring with the yellow diamond. To each servant, one year's wages. To the poor of the parish in which she might die the sum of £10. Testatrix desired that her body should be interred, without being opened or embowelled, in the church of such parish. And she gave

all the residue of her estate, as well real as personal, and pensions, annuities, and arrears, if any, plate, jewels, goods, chattels, and credits, to her grandson, Charles, Duke of Grafton, whom she appointed sole executor of her said will.

She seems to have had little to leave besides the parks of Nonsuch. These properties came under her will to the Duke of Grafton, who disposed of Nonsuch Park, including the site of the palace, to Joseph Thompson, Esq., in 1731; and, in the same year, Nonsuch Great Park, or Worcester Park, as it was afterwards called, to John Walter, Esq.* The Duke obtained, in the reign of George I., the amount stopped from her pension, payable out of the revenues of the Post-office, in the reign of William III.†

At the time of her death the family of the Duchess comprised her son, the Duke of Southampton, his second Duchess; their sons William, Earl of Chichester, born February 19,

* Manning and Bray's Surrey, ii. f. 607.

† Cunningham's Story of Nell Gwyn, f. 119. From Audit Office enrolments.

1697-8, and Lord Charles Fitzroy, born February 13, 1698-9; their daughters, the Ladies Barbara, born February 7, 1695-6; Grace, born March 28, 1697^u; and Anne, born November 12, 1702: her grandson Charles, Duke of Grafton: her daughter-in-law, the Duke's mother: her son, the Duke of Northumberland, his first Duchess: her daughter the Countess of Sussex and her Earl; their daughters the Ladies Barbara, born July 12, 1676, and Anne, born August 17, 1684^v: her daughter the Countess of Lichfield and her Earl; their sons, Edward Henry, Viscount Quarendon, born June 6, 1681; the Honorables James, born November 13, 1682; Charles Henry, born June 5, 1688; George Henry, born March 12, 1689-90; Frances Henry, born September 10, 1691; Fitzroy Henry, born July 2, 1699; William, born June 24, 1701; Thomas, born August 25, 1703; John, born December 3, 1704; and Robert, born July 3, 1706; their

^u This lady married Henry Vane, first Earl of Darlington, ancestor of the present Duke of Cleveland.

^v The birth-dates of the Ladies Lennard are from the register of the church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, those of the Duchess's other grandchildren from Boyer's Annals, viii. ff. 390—394.

daughter, the Lady Charlotte, born March 13, 1678, her husband the Honorable Benedict-Leonard Calvert, only son of Charles, Viscount Baltimore; their sons, Charles, Benedict Leonard, Edward Henry, and Cecil, and their daughters Charlotte and Cecil Jane; their daughters, the Ladies Anne, born June 29, 1686; Elizabeth, born September 6, 1693; and Barbara, born March 3, 1694-5: and, finally, her Grace's daughter, Lady Barbara Fitzroy. Of her children by blood or law who were living then,—

The Duke of Cleveland and Southampton died September 19, 1730, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. His second Duchess—wife, secondly, of Philip Southcote, Esq., of Chertsey, co. Surrey—died February 20, 1745-6, and was buried with him. The dukedoms became extinct on the death of their grandson on May 12, 1774. The Duchess of Grafton—wife, secondly, of Sir Thomas Hanmer, Baronet—died February 7, 1722-3, and was buried at Euston with her Duke. The Duke of Northumberland died July 3, 1716, *s.p.*, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

His first Duchess died May 25, 1714, and was buried there also*. The Countess of Sussex died May 16, 1722, and was buried at Linsted, co. Kent; the Earl died October 30, 1715, and was buried at Chevening. The Countess of Lichfield died February 17, 1717-8, and was buried at Spelsbury, co. Oxford; the Earl died July 14, 1716, and lies buried with his wife. The Lady Barbara Fitzroy died May 6, 1737, and lies buried in the church of the Priory of St. Nicholas at Pontoise, Normandy. The Duke of Northumberland left a widow, Mary, daughter of Henry Dutton, Esq., a cadet of the noble house of Sherborne, who had long lived with him as his mistress, and she died at Frogmore, co. Berks., August 27, 1738†, and was buried in the same vault with her husband.

There is but little more to add concerning the Duchess's children. At Cleveland House,

* Le Neve's *Monumenta Anglicana*, iv. f. 288.

† Peter Le Neve's MS. *penes* George Alfred Carthew, Esq., F.S.A.

This Duchess finds mention in the "Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of William Parsons, Esq., written by himself and corrected by a Gentleman," 1751. Sir William Parsons, third baronet, of Langley, co. Bucks., the father of this unfortunate gentleman,—for he was hung for returning from transportation before the term of his sentence,—married Frances, her sister.

St. James's, is a full-length portrait of the Duke of Cleveland and Southampton, in robes of the Order of the Garter, by Kneller. He is represented standing, holding the cords of his mantle with his right hand, and resting his left on his hip. His plumed hat is on a pedestal before him. There is also there an admirable picture of him as a boy of about eleven years. He is habited in a scarlet coat with plain white collar and wristbands, and from his neck hangs the ribbon and badge of the Garter. A falcon is on his left wrist. His face is singularly like what his father's was when young, — dark hair, full cheeks, dark brown eyes. The name of the artist is not given. This portrait is a half-length.

Of Anne, Duchess of Cleveland and Southampton, there is a fine full-length portrait by Dahl (?) at Cleveland House. She is represented seated, with her left hand resting on a table supporting a coronet. Hair, a pale rich brown, brushed back in full locks, a long tress down her left shoulder; dress, plain white satin, with crimson mantle lined with ermine; no jewellery whatever.

This lady has a place in one of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's letters to the Countess of Mar, dated Cavendish-square, 1727: "The man in England that gives the greatest pleasure and the greatest pain"—her ladyship is writing of Lord Sidney Beauclerk—"is a youth of royal blood, with all his grandmother's beauty, wit, and good qualities. In short, he is Nell Gwin in person, with the sex altered, and occasions such fracas amongst the ladies of gallantry that it passes description. You will stare to hear of her grace of Cleveland at the head of them. If I was poetical, I would tell you :—

"The god of love, enraged to see
The nymph despise his flame,
At dice and cards misspend her nights,
And slight her nobler game ;

"For the neglect of offers past,
And pride in days of yore,
He kindles up a fire at last,
That burns her at threescore.

"A polish'd wile is smoothly spread,
Where whilom wrinkles lay ;
And glowing with an artful red,
She ogles at the play.

“ ‘ Along the Mall she softly sails,
In white and silver dress'd ;
Her neck exposed to eastern gales,
And jewels on her breast.

“ ‘ Her children banish'd, age forgot,
Lord Sidney is her care ;
And, what is much a happier lot,
Has hopes to be her *heir*.’

“ This is all true history, though it is doggrel rhyme : in good earnest she has turned Lady Barbara and family out of doors to make room for him, and there he lies like gold-leaf upon a pill ; there never was so violent and so indiscreet a passion.”

For “ Lady Barbara ” we should read “ Lady Grace,” then the wife of the Hon. Henry Vane. Lady Barbara, who died unmarried January 4, 1734-5, had years before been disowned by her mother : *vide* her remarkable will, dated March 20, 1733-4, and proved June 26, 1735. Lady Anne cannot be the person alluded to, as her *mésalliance* had closed the door of her parents against her. The Duke and Duchess must surely have been living apart in 1737, he at Chiswick, she in St. James's-square.

The Duke of Northumberland is mentioned by Evelyn with commendation. After dining with his Grace at the table of Sir Stephen Fox, on October 24, 1684, "he seemed to be," he writes, "of all his Majesty's children (of which he had now six Dukes) the most accomplished son of King Charles, and most worth owning." His brother, the Duke of Grafton, and Lord Churchill vainly endeavoured to persuade him, commanding the second troop of Horse Guards, to follow them when they abandoned the service of James II.* On the accession of William and Mary, he was deprived of his command, but he did not hesitate to serve with his old regiment as a volunteer through the campaign in Flanders of 1691^a. Restored to royal favour, he became a Lieutenant-General, Colonel of the old standing regiment of Horse Guards, Constable of Windsor Castle, and twice Lord-Lieutenant of Surrey. A very good three-quarter portrait of the Duke is at Belhus, and two other portraits of him have been engraved in mezzo-

* The Autobiography of Sir John Bramston, f. 336.

^a Boyer's Annals, viii. f. 39.

tinto. One, both by Williams and Dunkarton, after Wissing, a half-length, in robes of the Order of the Garter; the other by Gascar, after his own painting, a full-length. In this he is a youth of about twelve years old, represented in a Roman dress.

The Countess of Sussex, "borne the 25th of Febr., being Shrove-munday, about 10 of the clock, anno 1660^b," was sent, in 1668, to the monastery of Chaillot near Paris, founded by Queen Henrietta-Maria for nuns of the Visitation of St. Mary, and brought home in 1669; in 1671 she was sent to the Abbey at Pontoise before mentioned, and returned to London in November, 1672^c. She joined the Court of St. Germain's on its foundation in 1687-8^d. As a Lady of the Bedchamber she was in waiting upon Queen Mary Beatrix when she and King James paid a visit to Louis XIV. at the Trianon on January 30; and the Mar-

^b The Pedigree of the ancient family of Palmer, f. 8.

In f. 25 we have deprived the Countess of four days of her life; the error is Sandford's, *vide* his Genealogical History of the Kings of England, f. 639.

^c Ibid.

^d Letter of Queen Mary Beatrix to the Countess of Lichfield, dated "St. Germain, Jan. 21." (Strickland's Lives of the Queens of England, 1846, ix. f. 297.)

quis de Dangeau informs us, on May 9, 1689^e, that she was one of the four ladies whom the Queen would have seated on account of her royal extraction, when in the presence of French Princesses and Duchesses. She continued to reside in France, by the advice of her physicians^f, until the death of her lord^g, when she returned to England, and kept house at Chevening with her daughter Lady Anne^h, who, on June 15, 1716, married, at the church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, her cousin Richard Barrett Lennard, Esq. On the sale of that property, on August 23, 1717, to the first Earl Stanhope, and when her daughter had remarried with Henry, eighth Lord Teynham, she accompanied her to her new home, where she ended her days. There is a three-quarter portrait of her, by Dahl, at Belhus, and two three-quarter portraits of the Earl of Sussex, one by Lely, sitting in peer's robes; the other, by Riley, standing. At Dorney Court, in the

* *Mémoires et Journal du Marquis de Dangeau*, 1854—60, tome ii. 313, 314.

^f *Ibid.*, tome ii. 390.

^g Thomas Barrett Lennard, Lord Dacre. MS. memoirs of his family at Belhus.

^h *Ibid.*

splendidly illustrated pedigree of the Palmer family, is a miniature of her on vellum by Faithorne.

The Countess of Lichfield, like her husband and elder sister, enjoyed the friendship of James II. and his Queenⁱ. She was a blameless beauty, introduced on account of the last quality into St. Evremond's "*Scène de Bas-sette*." At Dytechley there is a full-length and a half-length portrait of her by Kneller, and corresponding portraits of Lord Lichfield. The first-mentioned portrait has been engraved in mezzo-tinto by Beckett. A third portrait of the Countess, by Kneller, a bust size, has been engraved in the same manner by the same artist. A portrait of her by Verelst, three-quarter length, has been engraved in mezzo-tinto by Vanderbank. The portraits of the Lord and Lady in one frame, a legacy by the Duchess of Cleveland to the Countess of Lichfield, is, it is said, now in the possession of a gentleman named Cobb^k.

ⁱ Letter from the Queen to her Ladyship, mentioned in note d, f. 231.

^k Inf. Rev. Frederick George Lee, D.C.L., F.S.A.

On the south side of the chancel of Spelsbury Church, where she and her husband lie buried, is a monument of white and gray marble, with arms impaled, coronet, crest, and supporters, and also two weeping boys. The inscription upon it, not without interest, reads as follows :—

“M. S. Here lye interred Edward Henry Lee, Earl of Litchfield, Viscount Quarendon, Baron of Spelsbury, and Charlotte Fitzroy, his dear Consort. He was son and heir of Sir Francis Henry Lee, of Ditchley, Bart., and of the Lady Elizabeth Pope, daughter and heiress of Thomas, Earl of Downe ; she daughter of King Charles the Second by Barbara, Dutchess of Cleveland. This Lord merited the Titles with which he honoured his family, as well by his military as civil virtues, appearing very young in arms a volunteer, raised by succeeding merit to the command of a regiment, and from thence presented by his Sovereign's hand as Colonel to the First Regiment of Guards ; for his politeness and breeding beloved and favoured by two Kings, and by them successively appointed of their Bedchamber. This Lady adorned the eminence of her birth by the virtue of her Life, and possessed all those perfections which in her sex are great, lovely, exemplary. It was justly observed that at their marriage they

were the most gracefull bridegroom and most beautiful bride, and that till death they remained the most constant husband and wife. Their conjugal affection was blest by their numerous offspring, thirteen sons and five daughters. Tho' they were both framed for the honors and graces of the Court, they chose very young to retire from the splendour of it. Great in a private life, and disengaged from pomp and magnificence, to obtain more leisure for charity and religion. The Earl dyed the 14th July, Anno Salutis 1716, ætatis suæ 54. The Countess dyed the 17th Feb., Anno Salutis 1717, ætatis suæ 55."

Lady Barbara Fitzroy.—Boyer in his "Annals¹," published in the lifetime of the Duke of Marlborough, says of this lady: "I do not find the King ever owned her for his daughter; but a great man now living is her reputed father;" and in his "Life and Reign^m," published subsequently: "It is generally believ'd that Mr. Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, was her father." She made her profession at the Priory of St. Nicholas, as sister Benedicta, in 1691, and became Prioress in 1721. An autograph of the Prioress, in the possession of Peter Anthony Labouchere, Esq.,

¹ f. 394.

^m f. 49.

of the Château du Montcel, Jouy-en-Josas, France, is here given :—

“ Mon nom du monde est Barbe Fitz Roy est en Religion Benedite fille Du Roy De La grande Bretagne Charles 2^{de} j'ay fait profession dans Le Couuent des Benedictines Angloises De Pontoise L'année 1691 Le 2^e D'aurilⁿ c'est maison est mittigé.”

From a minute of a letter of Geofroy Maurice de la Tour D'Auvergne, Duke de Bouillon, in the possession of the same gentleman, we learn that in the year preceding her election to the office of Prioress of the convent of Pontoise she had been recommended by the writer to the same office in another nunnery :—

“à Paris, ce 2^{de} 7^{bre}, 1720.

“ Ayoint esté absent plus longtems que je ne me L'estoit proposé, je n'ay pû plustost Mesdames, Seconder nos Vœux en vous donnant vne Prieure telle qu'elle nous couient pour entretenir L'union et La paix dans votre maison, je me flatte que le choix que je viens de faire sera approuué de toute notre communanté, La naissance des plus Illustre, La Piété

ⁿ This date seems to be in error. Her child was born in England but two days before. The only way to reconcile the two dates, is to give the first to the French, the second to the English style.

solide, ce veritable ame, vn merite singulier, font le Caractere particulier de madame Fitz Roy Religieuse angloise du couuent de Pontoise, fille du feu Roi Charles Second d'angleterre, c'est elle que j'ay choisie pour faire le bonheur de votre maison, et je seray toujours disposé a' faire tout ce qui dépendru de moy pour Seconder Ses vœux et proteger vne communauté que J'estime.—Soyez en persuadés, Mesdames, je vous prie ce que personne ne vous peut estre plus Devouer que je le suis^o."

Her portrait, as a child sitting upon her mother's knee, by Gascar, is at Belhus, and

• Probably written by his Secretary under his dictation.

These two MSS., before they came into the collection of the present owner, were in those first of M. de Monmerque, and then of the Baron de Tremont. Mr. Labouchere has further in his collection an original letter of the Duchess of Cleveland addressed to Sir Robert Howard, Auditor of the Exchequer. To his courtesy we are indebted for a copy of it, as well as for copies of the documents printed in the text. On the back of the letter, in Sir Robert's handwriting, is the following memorandum,—“250 for y^e fontaine of y^e Dutchesse of Cleavland,” suggesting 1670 as its date (*vide ante*, ff. 125, 126). The Duchess thus words her epistle :—

“I did forget to night when I sawe you to speak to you to giue Mr. Diceye^{*} order that thous thinges might be broght to me which ware tacken at † Douer and which the King gaue me if you will se this mater done for me you will oblige your fathfull humble saruant

“*munday night.*”

“CLEAUELAND.”

* Colonel the Hon. Marmaduke Darcy, Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber[†]

† Her Grace perhaps intended to write “to” Dover. On May 15, 1670, the Duchess of Orleans landed at Dover, and was there received by the King, Queen, and Court, and entertained for a fortnight amidst continued pleasures and diversions. The King may have given the Duchess the plate used on the occasion.

has been engraved in mezzo-tinto by the painter. Another portrait of her, in more advanced years, a three-quarter length, is in the possession of Henry Morgan Vane, Esq., who purchased it of the late Sir Frederick Adair Roe, Bart. Here she is a young lady of fashion, in pearl earrings and necklace.

Of the Duchess of Grafton, owing to her conspicuous beauty, there are many portraits. Lely, Wissing, and Kneller painted her, the latter at least five times. His full-length at Hampton Court, the Duchess by a fountain, has been engraved by Lens^p, and, as a three-quarter length, by Faber. That at Euston, the Duchess with her son, as a half-length, by Vincent. A third, Kneller, half-length, has been engraved by Beckett. In this the Duchess is seated by a pedestal supporting a vase of flowers. A fourth, half-length, has been engraved by Smith, 1692. The Duchess is here again seated, and has her left hand raised towards a small parrot perched in a bush growing from a rock. Another, half-length, by

^p This plate was afterwards reduced to a three-quarter length, and republished by Bowles with slight alterations.

Kneller, has no engraver's name. The Duchess is sitting, and in the background is masonry, with a large vase in a niche (White, exc.). Of the Wissings, one, a three-quarter length, engraved by Smith, 1687, represents the Duchess reclining, and resting her head on her left hand; the other, also a three-quarter length, engraved by Beckett, seated, in full dress. The Lely, a half-length, engraved by Verkolje, 1683, is the portrait of a girl,—she could not have been more than thirteen years old when Lely died,—as is the three-quarter length by a nameless artist (Smith, exc.) In the last we have a lady seated, with an arrow in her hand, and with a dog springing up to her. Another anonymous painting, a three-quarter length, has been engraved by Schenck, and exhibits the Duchess in a low dress trimmed with ermine. There is a repetition of this engraving (Walton, exc.). These are all mezzo-tintos.

According to Mrs. Jameson, the Duchess of Grafton “reigned supreme” in the Court of William III., and “was celebrated by all the wits and poets of the day^a.” St. Evremond

^a *Memoirs of the Beauties*, i. f. 85.

certainly brackets her in his "Scène de Bassette," with her handsome sister-in-law. She was always a favourite with Evelyn, who, on recording her second nuptials with her first husband, before-mentioned, has this remark, including a testimony to the beauty of the young bride: "I confess I could give my Lady Arlington little joy, and so plainly told her; but she said the King would have it so, and there was no going back. Thus this sweetest, hopefulest, most beautiful child, and most virtuous too, was sacrificed to a boy that had been rudely bred, without anything to encourage them but his Majesty's pleasure. I pray God the sweet child find it to her advantage; who, if my augury deceive me not, will in a few years be such a paragon, as were fit to make a wife to the greatest prince in Europe." On September 18, 1683, he "went to London to visite the Duchesse of Grafton, now great with child, a most vertuous and beautifull Lady;" and again, under October 26 following, he writes: "I went to compliment the Duchess of Grafton, now lying-in of her first child, a son, which she called for, that I might see it.

She was become more beautiful, if it were possible, than before, and full of virtue and sweetness. She discoursed with me of many particulars with great prudence and gravity beyond her years."

A few words may here be given to the man who ought to have been the only husband of Barbara Villiers, in addition to those which have already appeared in this memoir. The Earl of Chesterfield held the appointment of Lord Chamberlain to Queen Catherine from the date of her marriage until his resignation of the office in 1665; whereby he must have been brought almost daily into the presence, during the space of three years, of the lady of his early love and of her Majesty's hatred. It was not without cause that his second wife, whom he married immediately after the Restoration, made him as jealous as he had before made "the Mounser".

We now arrive at the portraits of the Duchess, and so many there are that we cannot hope to give a complete list of them.

^r *Mémoires du Comte de Grammont*, tome ii. 98—102; Pepys, November 3, 1662, January 1 and 19, 1662-3.

The Duke of Grafton at Euston Hall, the Duke of Cleveland at Cleveland House, the Earl of Sandwich at Hinchinbroke (a present to the first Earl), Lord Buckhurst at Knole, the Hon. George Matthew Fortescue at Boconoc Park (a present made by the Duchess to her cousin, Harriet Villiers, mother of William, Earl of Chatham^s), and Andrew Fountaine, Esq., at Narford Hall, possess full-lengths; and the Earl of Harrington at Elvaston Castle, Lord Hastings at Melton Constable, Sir Thomas Barrett-Lennard, Bart., at Belhus (bequeathed by the Countess of Sheppy to her daughter-in-law, the Countess of Sussex), and Sir Alfred Frederick Adolphus Slade, Bart., at his town house (long in the gallery of the Brownes of Kiddington), three-quarter lengths of the lady seated on a bank, and leaning her head against her right hand. These paintings are by Sir Peter Lely, and represent Lady Castlemaine at the age of twenty-two. Her dress is not in each instance of the same colour. Of this portrait, there is in the collection of Mr. Vane

^s Gilbert's *Historical and Topographical Survey of the County of Cornwall*, iii. f. 909.

an early copy of the bust size. The Duke of Grafton, in his town mansion, has a half-length by Lely, in an amber satin dress, taken at a later age : the Duke of Cleveland, at Raby Castle, a bust size ; also, at a later age, in a white dress and light brown scarf : the Earl of Chesterfield at Bretby (?) (by purchase this year), the full-length by Lely, representing the Duchess in a grey silk dress and blue scarf, seated on a throne raised on steps apparently in front of a building, a stone vase carved with lions' masks on her left, a brown curtain suspended on her right : the Earl of Jersey at Middleton Park, the half-length by Lely, representing the Duchess in a high-pointed head-dress, ornamented in the front by jewels (purchased from Ashbourn Hall). Sir Thomas Barrett-Lennard at Belhus, has two other portraits of her Grace, one by Lely, half-length, in fawn-coloured dress, aged twenty-eight ; the other by Gascar, three-quarters, sitting on a carved sofa, with her daughter Barbara on her lap : Sir Charles James Palmer, Bart., at Dorney Court, a three-quarter by Lely, standing, in a dark orange figured dress, holding in her right hand a

castle. The Marquess of Ailesbury, K.G., and Earl Bathurst,—the first at Savernake Forest, the second at Oakley Grove,—have each the same three-quarter length by Lely, representing the Duchess as St. Catherine of Alexandria, with palm-branch, sword, and wheel; the Duke of Devonshire, at Holker Hall, a three-quarter length by Lely, dressed in a blue bodice and grey satin skirt, her head leaning against her right hand, her elbow being supported on a pedestal. Earl Spencer, at Althorp, has two three-quarter lengths by Lely; in one the Lady Castlemaine is sitting in a blue dress, holding a wreath of flowers; in the other, the Duchess of Cleveland is standing in a yellow dress with a hay-fork in her hand. The Earl of Craven, at Combe Abbey, has a three-quarter length by Lely, representing the Duchess sitting at an open window, in which stands a vase: she is playing with a small brown and white spaniel, which has its fore-paws on her dress, and stands under her left arm; with her right hand she motions the dog to be quiet: her left bosom is entirely bare; her dress is of a brownish

colour, but from her left shoulder, and covering all the lower part of it, is a bright blue robe. This fine painting is considered to be in an unfinished state. There was, so late as June, 1860, in the Combe Abbey collection, a full-length portrait, by Vignon, of the Duchess as a Venus: the head only, in an oval frame, is now to be seen there. "The figure"—this is Mr. Scharf's description of the painting—"is entirely naked, lying on a white drapery, resting on her right elbow, beneath which is the signature, 'Vignon, f. 168....' Her left hand rests on a very small spaniel, a bracelet on her left arm; her hair, black (?) and long, flowing: a winged Cupid behind her, raising a green curtain, would suggest, I suppose, the designation of a Venus; a crimson curtain hangs in the upper right-hand corner: in a mountainous landscape, with flowers on this side, is a monkey¹. The picture, life-size, is on canvas." The Earl of Stamford and Warrington, at Enville Hall, has a full-length by Lely: the lady is here shewn in white and green.

¹ Is this the sapajon given to Barbe, Duchesse de Cleveland, for a page by Victor Hugo? *vide* his *L'Homme qui rit*.

Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, Bart., M.P., at Oulton Hall, another full-length by Lely: the lady, standing, is in blue velvet over white satin; she is pointing to the left, and has a dog and vase at her feet. The Marquess of Salisbury, at Hatfield, has a half-length by Lely, in yellow brown, raising her right hand to an orange-tree in a stone jar, and resting her left hand on a stone parapet, with a blossom in front. Viscount Dillon, at Dytechley, has a three-quarter length by Lely, in which she leans her head upon her hand, has much of her bosom exposed, and wears on her head a high cap, white in front and black behind. The late Sir S. Egerton Brydges, Bart., at Lee Priory, had a half-length, by Gaspar, in a brown and blue dress, holding a group of orange-flowers. This, in May, 1859, was purchased by a gentleman named Lee, now deceased.

At Hampton Court is a fine three-quarter length, by Lely, of the Duchess in the character of Bellona. A portrait of her, by Kneller, was sold at the Stowe sale, 1848; and in this same year the late Lord Charles Townshend

exhibited one by Lely at the British Institution. Of the two last we have no description, nor can we point out their destination.

On sale at the present time, at Mr. Pool's, Pall Mall Place, is a painting, about 2 ft. 6 in. square, by Gascar, of the Duchesses of Cleveland and Portsmouth, in one frame. The Duchess of Cleveland—her face identical with that in Gascar's painting of her at Belhus—is standing, looking to the Duchess of Portsmouth, with a quiver at her back, and a bow in her right and an arrow in her left hand: her hair is in short curls; she wears a necklace and earrings of pearls, and her dress is low and of figured silk. The Duchess of Portsmouth is seated, in a figured silk dress, exposing entirely one bosom, and holds a dove between her hands. At Harewood, the seat of Sir Hungerford Hoskyns, Bart., is an oblong picture about 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft., beautifully executed in crayons, of the Duchess, one of six similar portraits known as King Charles's Beauties, added to the gallery by Sir John Hoskyns, the second Baronet, and a contemporary of Charles II. At Combe Abbey is a third por-

trait of the lady, a head only, forming one of a series of the same beauties, attributed to Sir Peter Lely, but the Dowager Countess of Craven supposes it to be only a copy, as some of the series are very badly executed. At Hampton Court is a second portrait, a bust, well copied by Russell from the Lely first mentioned in our list. At Strawberry Hill were sold, 1842, a small painting and a miniature of the Duchess, copied by Jervas; the sale catalogue does not state from what originals^u.

Other miniatures there are. Earl Spencer has one on vellum, by Samuel Cooper, with the date 166... The Countess of Caledon one on card by the same, with the date 1664, the lady in a pinner: the Duke of Richmond has an unfinished copy of this, and Mr. Vane a copy by Mrs. Rose, daughter of Gibson the dwarf. An enamel of the same, formerly belonging to James II., is in the royal collection at Windsor, where also is an un-

^u The portrait shewn as Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland, by Lely, at Warwick Castle, and inscribed "D. of Cleveland," is mis-named. It represents a lady of the period, with light hair and dark eyes.

finished painting by Cooper, the property once of the King here named. A sketch of the Duchess by Mrs. Rose after Cooper, was sold at Lee Priory, 1817; it appears to differ from that in Mr. Vane's collection. The Earl of Chesterfield and Henry Barrett-Lennard, Esq. *, have miniatures taken from the well-known Lely; and Sir Charles James Palmer has in his illustrated pedigree before-mentioned one by Faithorne, a copy, apparently, from another of Lely's numerous paintings. In this, as in the Euston portrait, she wears the two brooches linked together by a string of pearls.

At f. 242, we should have stated that the Dowager Lady Henniker has at her house in Grafton-street a well-painted half-length portrait of the Duchess of Cleveland, (Euston type).

It may in this place be appropriately told that the colour of the Duchess's hair was dark auburn, approaching to black, and that her eyes were blue.

* Purchased about fifty years ago by the late Sir Thomas Barrett-Lennard, Bart.

ENGRAVED PORTRAITS OF THE DUCHESS OF CLEVELAND.

	<i>Style.</i>	<i>Size.</i>	<i>Painter.</i>	<i>Engraver.</i>	<i>Publisher.</i>	<i>Length.</i>	<i>Description.</i>
1. ^a	Mez.	4to.	Lely	Beckett	Beckett	Bust	In low dress, with pearls in hair, and pearl necklace.
2.	"	8vo.	"	"	Smith	"	The same.
3. ^a	"	Fol.	"	Williams	Cooper	Full	Sitting on a throne.
4. ^a	"	"	"	"	Browne	"	Sitting on a throne, with flowers in lap, a violet in right hand, a statue behind.
5. ^b	"	4to.	"	Faithorne	"	Half	Sitting, leaning head on left hand, i.e. a reverse.
6. ^c	"	"	"	Erlom	Woodburn, 1815	"	The same, leaning head on right hand.
7.	"	"	"	"	Thompson	Three-quarter	Sitting, looking to right, holding a basket of flowers in right hand, and a violet in left.
8.	"	Fol.	"	"	Allard	Half	The same.
9.	Stipple	8vo.	"	Scriven	Carpenter and Miller, 1810	Bust	The same.
10.	Mez.	Fol.	"	"	Thompson	Three-quarter	Sitting, in ermine robe.
11.	"	4to.	"	Lutterell	Beckett	"	Sitting, with cross of jewels on breast.
12.	"	Fol.	"	Watson	"	"	As Bellona.
13.	Stipple	4to.	"	Wright	Colburn, 1827 & 1838	"	The same.
14.	"	"	"	Van der Berghe	Harding, 1793	Bust	In high-pointed head-dress, with jewels in front.
15.	"	8vo.	"	Bocquet	White and Scott, 1808	"	The same.

^a Altered from Beckett, exc., to I. S., ex., and made two by Bromley. (Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits, 1793, f. 243.)

^b Divided by Bromley into three: 1. Cooper, exc.; 2. R. Williams, sc.; 3. Smith, exc., 1695. Altered and inscribed "Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary, Va[n]lo[o], pin. I. Franck, fec.; Millward, ex. 1714."

^c There is a reverse of this engraving.

^d Printed December 1, 1666. Pepys, who considered it "a very fine picture, and like her."

^e "From an original drawing, in colours, by Faithorne, in the possession of the Publisher." The same which Pepys wished to purchase of the artist, November 7, 1666, and from which Faithorne made his engraving.

	<i>Style.</i>	<i>Size.</i>	<i>Painter.</i>	<i>Engraver.</i>	<i>Publisher.</i>	<i>Length.</i>	<i>Description.</i>
16. ^d	Etching	Fol.	Lely.	Enghels	. . . 1667	Full	As St. Mary Magdalen.
17.	Mez.	4to.	„	Dunkarton	Woodburn, 1814	Three-quarter	Sitting, with hands in lap, a fluted column and curtain.
18.	„	„	„	. . . .	Dickinson	„	The same.
19.	„	Fol.	„	. . . .	Beckett	„	Sitting, looking to left, a fountain in background.
20. ^e	„	4to.	Gascar (?)	Smith	. . . .	Half	Head turned to right, with flowing hair, holding nosegay.
21.	„	„	Netscher	Schenck	. . . .	Full	Sitting, playing on the violoncello.
22.	„	„	Kneller	Beckett	Beckett	Half	In ermine robe, looking to right, shoulder knots jewelled, one curl behind.
23.	„	„	„	. . . .	Smith, 1687	„	The same, with two curls.
24.	„	„	„	Schenck	. . . .	Bust	The same as No. 22, with plume of feathers added.
25. ^f	„	„	Wissing	Williams	. . . .	Half	Dressed with jewels.
26.	„	Fol.	Gascar	. . . .	. . . .	„	Sitting on carved sofa, with daughter Barbara on lap.
27.	„	4to.	. . . .	Sherwin	. . . .	Three-quarter	Sitting, with shepherd's crook, and leaning head on right hand.
28.	„	„	. . . .	. . . .	I. Overton	Half	Roses in hair, curls on right shoulder. In oak-leaf frame.
29. ^g	„	„	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	Half	Head turned to right, low dress, pearl necklace, curls, small coronet at back of head.
30. ^h	„	8vo.	M[ignard?]	. . . .	Beckett	Full	Sitting near a table playing on a violin; Jacob Hall leaning over her playing the guitar; she dressed as in No. 24.

^d By Bromley, assigned to Faithorne.

Barrett-Lennard, Esq.

Bodleian Library.

^f A reverse.

^h Proof before letters.

^e Proof before letters. In collection of Henry

^g Proof before letters. In Hope collection,

In collection of Henry Barrett-Lennard, Esq.

The grand full-length portrait of the Duchess's father, alluded to in ff. 4, 5, has been engraved in mezzo-tinto by Van Gunst; a duplicate of it adorns the picture-gallery of the Earl of Clarendon. At Belhus is a half-length portrait of the Viscount in armour, "reputed to be drawn by S^r Anthony Vandike," (Will of Elizabeth, Countess of Sheppy, dated June 19, 36 Car II., proved July 19, 1686); and there is also at the same seat a half-length portrait of his wife by Lely, perhaps the only one in existence.

As might be expected, the name of the Duchess finds entrance into many of the lampoons of her time. From Marvell we have already quoted. This satirist makes very free with it: see his "Britannia and Raleigh, an Historical Poem," where speaking of the gift made to the King, when invited to his crown, for an outfit, we have,—

"Nor did he such small favours then disdain,
But in his thirtieth year began his reign:
In a slash't doublet then he came ashore,
And dubb'd poor Palmer's wife his Royal W——;"

and his lines, "On the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen presenting the King and Duke of

York each with a copy of his Freedom, Anno Dom. 1674." From the "Last Instructions to a Painter about the Dutch War, 1667," we have again to quote. Here the King, rising from a troubled sleep, and resolved on Clarendon's disgrace,—

“ At his first step he Castlemain does find,
Bennet and Coventry as 'twere design'd,
And they not knowing the same thing propose,
Which his hid mind did in its depths inclose :
Through their feign'd speech their secret hearts he knew,
To her own husband Castlemain untrue ;
False to his master, Bristol, Arlington,
And Coventry falser than any one,
Who to his brother, brother would betray ;
Nor therefore trusts himself to such as they.”

Lord Rochester introduces her into a poem, dated 1678, that we cannot so much as mention the name of, and in words that will no more admit of quotation¹; and into “A Satyr which the King took out of his pocket.” In a Juvenalian attack upon the Duchess of Portsmouth in the last, whilst unfavourably comparing her in alternate couplets to the Duchess of Cleveland, he attacks the latter in the same

¹ Poems on Affairs of State, 1703, ii. f. 189.

spirit^k. The unknown author of "England's Court Strumpets," unquestionably written in 1679, commences his short poem with the following line :—

"Since Cleveland is fled till she's brought to bed."

The other Court ladies are their Graces of Mazarin and Portsmouth and "Nelly".^l

Bishop Burnet, who must have known the Duchess, gives this character of her : "She was a woman of great beauty, but most enormously vicious and ravenous ; foolish, but imperious ; very uneasy to the King, and always carrying on intrigues with other men, while yet she pretended she was jealous of him. His passion for her, and her strange behaviour towards him, did so disorder him, that often he was not master of himself, nor capable of business, which, in so critical a time, required great application." Another contemporary of hers, one who for a time, as we have said, lived under her roof, writes of her in these words :

^k Was the Earl's letter to the Honourable Henry Savile respecting the Duchess of Portsmouth's more than ordinary indignation against him, written before or after the date of this poem ? (*Vide* the Works of John, Earl of Rochester, 1714, ff. 146—149.)

^l Poems on Affairs of State, 1707, iii. f. 190.

“The Duchess, by her prodigality to favourites, fell into extream neglect; her temper was a perfect contradiction, unbounded lavish, yet sordidly covetous; the former to those who administer’d to her particular pleasures, the latter to all the rest of the world. When love began to forsake her, and her charms were upon the turn, because she must still be a Bubble, she fell into Gamesters hands, and played off that fortune which Sigismund [Charles II.] had enriched her with. She drank deep of the bitter draught of contempt; her successive amours, with mean, ill-formed domesticks, made her abandoned by the esteem and pity of the world. Her pension was so ill-paid, that she had oftentimes not a pistole at command; then she sollicitated the Count [Lord Marlborough] (whom she had raised) by his favour with the Court, that her affairs might be put in a better posture; but he was deaf to all her intreaties^m.”

“Le commerce de l’une,” says Count Hamiltonⁿ, when drawing a comparison between the

^m The New Atalantis, i. f. 43.

ⁿ Mémoires du Comte de Grammont, tome ii. 62.

Duchess of Cleveland and the Countess of Chesterfield, disparaging to the former, "étoit désagréable par l'impolitesse de ses manières, ses hauteurs à contre-tems, et ses imaginations et inégalités perpétuelles;" and Oldmixon: "'Tis not a secret that she was the lewdest as well as the fairest of all King Charles's concubines°."

Having now placed together every particular that we have been able to collect of the Duchess of Cleveland's history, we take our leave of her and our readers, with the remark that she will always be remembered in this country and in others—for where is the educated person in Europe who has not heard her name?—not alone as a lady of transcendent beauty, and the mistress of a King, but as one who possessed power sufficient to drive a Secretary of State and a Lord High Chancellor, Prime Minister as he was, from office.

• The Critical History of England, ii. f. 276.



Stanford University Libraries

DATE DUE

94305

